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THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

KING GEORGE THE THIRD

WITH

LORD NORTH

FROM 1768 TO 1783.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINALS AT WINDSOR, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY W. BODHAM DONNE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

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GEORGE THE THIRD'S LETTERS TO LORD NORTH.

As the year 1776 was in some respects a turning-point in the war between England and her colonies, it may be convenient to take a brief review of the contending parties before proceeding with the King's Letters. There were many errors current at the time that now are patent and exploded; and there was much animosity arising from mutual misconceptions at which it may be well to glance.[a]

When Congress assembled for the first time in the September of 1774, the Colonies had, for ten years, been contesting for their rights against the parent state. But during this long and agitated period the idea of casting off their dependence on the British Crown was never for a moment entertained, or, if regarded as a probable event, it was so by a very few discerning eyes.[b] Such disturbances as took place were the results of passion, not of premeditation—the work of a mob, not of the colonists generally. Any motion or resolution containing, or even implying, the doctrine of Independence, would have been rejected as extravagant, mischievous, or even treasonable, by the Congress of 1774. In their Addresses to the people of Great Britain, as well as in their Petitions and Remonstrances to the Throne, they

[a] There are some points in common between the feelings which actuated parties in the war of England with America and those which prevailed between Rome and her allies at the outbreak of the Social War, B.C. 90. The Italians, indeed, demanded admission into the tribes, and consequently into the government of Rome, while the Americans claimed only exemption from taxation, without their own assent, by England, but did not aspire to representation in Parliament. The Italians, like the Americans, resented interference with their municipalities, and yet more the aggressions of Rome on the land they had inherited or won by their swords. The insolence of Rome, however, like the insolence of England, had as much share in creating and fomenting the quarrel between branches of the same family as positive grievances or direct oppression. With the respective issues of these wars, indeed, all resemblance between them vanishes. Rome possessed at least one great soldier in her distress, which, again like England, she paltered with at first, and fared accordingly. In each the superior power made its concessions: America established her independence; and the Italians became, nominally at least, Roman citizens.

[b] In Europe, as well as in New England or Virginia. Even in 1763 statesmen—De Choiseul and Vergennes among them—foresaw that, so soon as the Colonies had no longer reason to dread the French in Canada, they would be at leisure to quarrel with Great Britain.

used repeatedly such expressions as these: "You have been told "that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of inde- "pendency. *Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies.*" So late as October in that year Washington himself held similar language: and if there be grounds for sometimes doubting the ingenuousness of Franklin's professions of amity to England, there can be none of the veracity of his great contemporary. The colonists believed—and they had every right to expect—that their representations to the Parliament and the people of Britain would be heard with as much attention and canvassed with as much gravity as a petition from any English county or city: that their long-possessed charters, municipal rights, and machinery for self-government, would be held sacred: that their contributions to the imperial exchequer would continue to be assessed by themselves: and that, being unrepresented in Parliament, they would be allowed the full and peaceable enjoyment of their town or provincial councils.

So far indeed from aiming at separation or aspiring to independency, the colonists regarded with pride and satisfaction their English origin and connexions. Old England itself had not exulted more than New England did in Chatham's victories. They inherited from their Puritan sires what they deemed a holy hatred of the Pope of Rome, and of the kings whom he had arrogantly invested with the titles of Most Christian and Most Catholic. They rejoiced when the lion supplanted the lilies on the castle of St. Louis, and again when the British standard supplanted the flag of Spain on the Moro at Havannah. They copied the manners, they imported the luxuries, they cherished the prejudices of the old country. Many of their provinces were named after English sovereigns, or English nobles; their cities, towns, and even villages, in very numerous instances, bore English names. The prayers that were offered, the hymns that were sung in American churches and chapels, were the same as those which were used by churchmen or dissenters in Great Britain; nor did the recollection that so many of their forefathers in the preceding century had fled to the western continent from the tyranny of English kings and priests, affect the loyalty of the American subjects of the House of Hanover. Their laws both in theory and practice were the laws which protected, or in some cases oppressed, persons and property in this country:[a] the Meades and

[a] Burke, speaking of the education of the colonists, said, "I have been told "by an eminent bookseller that, in no "branch of his business, after tracts "of popular devotion, were so many "books as those on the law exported "to the plantations. The colonists "have now fallen into the way of "printing them for their own use. I "hear that they have sold nearly as "many of Blackstone's 'Commentaries' "in America as in England. General "Gage marks out this disposition very "particularly in a letter on your table.

Cheseldens of England were the oracles of medicine in her colonies; the booksellers'-shops and public libraries of Boston and Philadelphia depended for their grave or gay literature upon English writers; and the traveller who surveyed New York or Charleston for the first time might, without much stress of his fancy, believe himself to be still at York, Liverpool, or Bristol. He would miss, indeed, the castles, cathedrals, and moated granges of his native land. He might also discern fewer tokens of opulence and less refinement of manners. He would certainly have found less profligacy in the upper classes of society, and less ignorance and servility in the lower, than at that time prevailed in England. But in most respects the resemblance would be more striking than the difference between the parent and the offspring; and he would have been a hardy prophet, who in 1760 had foretold that the day was not far distant when George III. would cease to be the sovereign of Thirteen Provinces, then as well affected to him and his family as the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, and far better disposed to him than his city of London, or his kingdom of Ireland. Like their sires, indeed, the colonists were a rugged and stiff-backed generation, tenacious of their ancient rights and privileges, and ill brooking interference with their personal or municipal freedom. Yet beneath a rough exterior there breathed a loyal spirit that a wise king, a wise government, and a wise nation might have turned to their own advantage. A federal alliance had more than once been imagined possible between Protestant England and Protestant Holland; but the impediments to union proved insurmountable. It was, perhaps, a more difficult task to wrench North America from England than it might have proved to combine the English and the Dutch under one Protector or Stadtholder.

But unfortunately for both the parent and the offspring, there was little wisdom in England at that time. There was little wisdom in the Church, which had recently cast out of its bosom Whitfield and Wesley, and whose bishops and curates both in Chapels Royal and in country churches denounced rebellion as the sin of witchcraft, and compared Franklin to Achitophel, and Washington to Jeroboam. There was little wisdom in the Government, which struck

"He states that all the people in his "government are lawyers, or smatterers "in law; and that in Boston they have "been enabled, by successful chicane, "wholly to evade many parts of one "of your capital penal constitutions. ". . . This study renders men acute, "inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in at- "tack, ready in defence, full of re- "sources. In other countries the "people, more simple, and of a less "mercurial cast, judge of an ill prin- "ciple in government only by an actual "grievance; here they anticipate the "evil, and judge of the pressure of the "grievance by the badness of the prin- "ciple. They augur misgovernment "at a distance, and snuff the approach "of tyranny in every tainted breeze."

when it should have soothed, and paltered when it might have struck, and which "nettled and stung with pismires" a people by no means slow to wrath, and acutely sensible to ridicule. And there was little wisdom also in the nation which echoed, and even exceeded, the folly of its rulers.

Of all the promoters of this great schism on this side of the Atlantic, the King was perhaps the least in fault. We have already seen in many of the foregoing Letters how bitter his feelings were towards his American subjects. Yet, had he not been trained to believe it his duty to be every inch a king in his native realm? how much more so over its dependencies! To the few who, like Chatham or Burke, saw whither England was hurrying, he was politically, and even personally, hostile: by the many who regarded the colonists as Coriolanus regarded the commons of Rome, he was stimulated and strengthened in his faith that "firmness" and "vigorous "measures" would compel them to sue for grace. He was unfortunate in having for his chief adviser at this crisis, and indeed for his friend, Lord North, who, with many virtues ministerial and personal, lacked the excellent gift of firmness, and consented to be the instrument of measures from which his good sense and his humane feelings often recoiled. He was yet more unfortunate in Lord North's colleagues, Lords Mansfield, Sandwich,[a] and George Germaine; in his Attorney-General Thurlow, and his Solicitor-General Wedderburn—violent men whose "sentence was for war," or corrupt men who thought only of what was pleasant to the King. And again, he was most unfortunate that his people, whom he sincerely loved and desired to guide well, shared in his own sentiments upon the character and conduct of the American insurgents.

Whatever may have been his abilities, and in my opinion they have often been underrated, the leading characteristic of George III.'s mind was self-reliance. He was a remarkably firm and courageous man. By his firmness—greatly aided indeed by its own jealousies and divisions—he had broken up the Whig phalanx, which, in his own opinion, had predominated over his predecessors, and rendered

[a] "Lord Sandwich, in the debate of "March 16th, 1775, said, 'The noble "Lord [Camden] mentions the im- "practicability of conquering America. "I cannot think the noble Lord can be "serious on this matter. Suppose the "colonies do abound in men, what "does that signify? They are raw, "undisciplined, cowardly men. I wish, "instead of 40,000 or 50,000 of these "brave fellows, they would produce in "the field at least 200,000; the more "the better, the easier would be the "conquest.' He continued, after re- "lating an anecdote of Sir Peter War- "ren, 'Believe me, my Lords, the very "sound of a cannon would carry them, "in his (Sir Peter's) words, as fast as "their feet could carry them.' Such "was the language of a chief coun- "sellor of the Crown!" See Earl Russell's 'Life and Times of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 83.

the King dependent on Mayors of the Palace. By firmness he had gradually filled his cabinet, his chamber, and his court with men devoted, or affecting to be devoted, to his will. By the patient and indefatigable exercise of that faculty he had checked the periodical insolence of the City, driven the Whigs not only from office, but also, for any active purpose, from the Opposition benches, and breathed into the Tories a spirit far surpassing in strength and coherence the most sanguine hopes ever entertained by Bolingbroke and Atterbury. Firmness accordingly he might fairly argue—ignorant as he was of the temper of his American subjects, of their opinions and their resources, and deceived as he also was by the braggarts who came over from New England and filled his ears with lying reports of their cowardice, their corruption, and their divisions[a]—would once more succeed. Many circumstances, as will appear in the following Letters, combined to confirm the King in these vain hopes.

The raid of Lexington and the battle of Bunker's Hill had irritated, rather than aroused, the King, his ministers, and his subjects, without opening their eyes to the real nature of the war. On the other hand, these actions had excited some hopes and dispelled some fears on the part of the insurgents. Troops which looked well on parade, and which in regular combat against French or Spanish armies would have been formidable, were comparatively inefficient against an enemy who broke or was ignorant of the rules of civilised warfare. It had already become evident that a thousand of these "lambs" would not, as had been predicted, run before a handful of these "lions." Something besides pipeclayed belts and well-powdered clubs was wanted to cower and crush this "rabble." Neither did England take into account that, while her ministers dallied with the war, and her representatives for the most part uttered "very "brafe" but not wise "worts" on the hustings and in parliament, the Americans were thoroughly in earnest and kindling into the same heat which some hundred years before had animated the yeomanry of England against Rupert and his chivalry.

In the known composition and condition of the American armies there lay indeed some apparent prospect of success for England, and also some excuse for her rulers. Unwise even when they had to deal with mayors and aldermen at their gate, they could not be expected to possess or exhibit much discretion in their dealings with a war many thousand miles removed from them. Long they

[a] As one among many examples take that of a Colonel Campbell in 1775, who boasted that "he would reduce the "rebels with a couple of the King's "regiments." Gage and Oliver's depreciation of the Americans has already been mentioned in the notes.

regarded the troubles in New England merely as a Brentford riot on a larger scale. Of the reports which came to them from Boston and the provinces generally, those which related to the distress of the rebels were tolerably true. The insurgents were badly clothed, badly fed, and, if paid at all, it was in coin of a very questionable character. There were materials for a good army in the private men, of whom great numbers were able-bodied, active, and unquestionably brave, men inured to the labours or accustomed to the sports of the country; and there were also officers worthy of leading such men. But a vicious system of recruiting prevailed. Commissions were given for raising companies or regiments, and many accordingly were in command who had neither experience, spirit, nor military ability.[a] Sometimes the Congress was imposed upon by false muster-rolls, and at others by the enlistment of unsuitable recruits. In nearly every company many were absent with or without leave; and where the officers were novices, or unable to secure the respect of their followers, efficient discipline and due subordination were impossible. There was a general want of money, of clothing, of engineers, and, above all, of ammunition. The scanty store of powder was reserved almost exclusively for the small arms, and used with great frugality. And these scantily furnished recruits were matched against forces possessing everything which the insurgents wanted except the spirit of endurance and resistance, which even the longest experience and the most effective discipline will not supply. In the chaos of the American camps there was a living soul at work that more than counterbalanced the mechanical routine of their opponents; and, what was still more important, their own imperfect preparations for war.[b]

[a] "It is impossible," writes Adjutant-General J. Reed, Oct. 11, 1776, "for "any one to have an idea of the equality "which exists between the officers and "men who compose the greater part "of our troops. You may form some "notion of it when I tell you that "yesterday morning a captain of horse, "who attends the General, from Con-"necticut, was seen shaving one of his "men on the parade near the house." This accommodating captain may have fought as well with the sword as he handled the razor. Stories of this kind were sure of welcome in England. During, or shortly after, the close of the war, a farce was performed at a London theatre in which certain ragged and disconsolate-visaged actors, entitled in the dramatis personæ "tailors and "cobblers," represented a supposed sample of Yankee soldiers. A young American officer in the boxes, seemingly an acute critic, greeted this ingenious pleasantry by shouting—"Hurrah! "Great Britain beaten by tailors and "cobblers!"

[b] Mr. Parton, 'Life of Franklin,' vol. ii. p. 101, describes the wretched condition of Washington's army in September, 1775:—"Ill news from General Wash-"ington reached Congress a few days "after the session opened. His extem-"porised army was falling to pieces; "terms of enlistment were expiring, "and most of the men were mad to "get home; winter approaching, and "no proper shelter for the troops; no "winter clothing, no fuel, no money, "small supply of provisions, scarcely "any gunpowder, no adequate system "of discipline, no provision made for "raising new regiments; no well-de-"fined limits to the authority of the "governors of colonies, &c. &c."

It was a fortunate moment for America, and perhaps for England also, at which the King or his ministers rejected the advice tendered them by Lords Howe and Barrington to attack the insurgents by sea alone. Masters of the coast—and the seaboard of North America, obvious to attack by its conformation, was then almost defenceless—the English would have been able to distress the Americans severely without exposing themselves to any disasters beyond those incidental to maritime war. The mouth of every river would have been sealed; the great and small craft of every port would have rocked idly by its quays and wharves; the whole West Indian, foreign, and carrying trade of the colonies would have been extinguished, the fisheries destroyed, and the cost of blockade defrayed by frequent prizes. And at that time England was more conspicuous for her admirals and sea-captains than for her military officers. She would not indeed have been served by Keppel, since he declined to bear arms in what he regarded an unrighteous cause; but Lord Howe would have been in the place of Sir William; and grey-headed admirals, who had earned laurels as captains in Chatham's wars, would have well compensated for the absence of Burgoyne, Cornwallis, and even Clinton. Perhaps, however, there may have been some degree of prudence in preferring the land to the sea service. With Lord Sandwich at the head of the Admiralty a British fleet might have proved inefficient, or even met with its "Saratoga."

Next to misconceiving the character of the American people, stands in the rank of ministerial, royal, and popular errors at that time, ignorance of the natural obstacles presented to invaders by the land itself. Some vaunters in and out of parliament had talked of driving the insurgents from their cities to the primeval forests and mountains.[a] Had their boasts been realised, victory or subjugation would not have been the nearer. The rivers, mountains, and woods of the western continent even now tax the energies of warfare and forbid such rapid movements of armies as in Europe have sometimes changed the owners or the fortunes of states in a few weeks. But in 1775 and for many years after, the physical difficulties were much more numerous, and the instruments for overcoming them much less efficacious, than in the present day. Good or even tolerable roads were to be found only in the neighbourhood of a few principal cities: the bridges that spanned rivers were generally wooden structures, weak and narrow, and unfit for the passage of troops and their inevitable retinue. Cultivation and clearance have

[a] See 'Taxation no Tyranny,' Johnson's Political Tracts, p. 182, for a passage of most idle and Thrasonical speculation on this theme.

rendered New England in the 19th century a far healthier region than it was in the 18th: the corn-field has supplanted the marsh and the forest; and the solitary farm-house is now represented by populous towns or hamlets. Indeed, the Howes and Burgoynes were comparatively fortunate in the narrow area to which the war was long confined. The great reverses which determined the struggle would probably have taken place earlier, had the English forces been drawn away sooner from a region of good roads and bridges, of fields under tillage, of market-towns and other works of civilized man. The swamp would have proved no less deadly than the rifle to the invaders. The best appointed baggage or hospital train would have been almost a useless incumbrance in the absence of highways, and the most disciplined troops nearly powerless before an invisible enemy for whom every rock was "coin of vantage" and every wood a fastness nearly as impregnable as Gibraltar itself.

The avowed and ostensible causes of the war—the Stamp Act, the tax on tea and other articles of consumption, and Lord North's prohibitory laws—are sufficiently known. They were not, however, the only fuel that fed the flame. Among the incendiaries must be counted Wedderburn, whose treatment of Franklin before the Privy Council was disgraceful alike to the Council and himself; the Attorney-General Thurlow, and the Chief-Justice Mansfield, whose exposition of the law, accompanied as it was by invectives against the colonists, was most unpalatable to Americans; and the officers or civilians who brought from New England an evil report of the land and its inhabitants. These Agamemnonidæ of the Senate were followed by a numerous train of echoing and applauding clients in the country and the Church, and England was given over to the delusion that her Transatlantic kinsmen were an inferior species, whom it was their duty as Christians and citizens to hold up to ridicule and contempt. The provocations given were indeed returned—but with a difference. Nearly the whole English nation regarded the colonists as a rabble; whereas for a time a large number, perhaps even a majority of the Americans, entertained sentiments of reverence for the cradle of their race.

Such rash and indecent expressions of contempt for all that was American were by no means confined to statesmen, soldiers, or members of Parliament. Samuel Johnson raved against the colonists even more intemperately than he was wont to rave against Whigs. He termed them a race of convicts, who ought to be thankful for anything we could give them. He was willing to love all mankind—except an American. "He breathed out threatenings and slaughter," says Boswell, "calling them rascals, robbers, pirates, and exclaiming that he 'd burn and destroy them." When such

was the language of a good and wise man, it is not difficult to conceive what must have been the language of Tory squires and parsons in those days of hard drinking. Johnson expressed himself in somewhat more measured, but in scarcely less bitter terms, in his pamphlet of 'Taxation no Tyranny,' published in 1775, a production instigated and revised by the ministry, but which, however it might satisfy his employers, must always make the judicious admirers of the great moralist grieve. It cannot be doubted that George the Third, who highly and justly valued the author of it, was confirmed in his prejudices by this unlucky and intemperate tract —in sophistry superior, in style inferior, to his earlier pamphlet on 'The Falkland Islands.'[a]

In the last debate of the Lords attended by Franklin, March 16th, 1775, he heard American courage, American religion, American intellect, branded as cowardice, hypocrisy, and dulness. "We were "treated," he says, "as the lowest of mankind, and almost of a differ- "ent species from the English of Great Britain; but particularly "American honesty was abused by some of the Lords, who asserted "that we were all knaves, and wanted only by this dispute to avoid "paying our debts." "The tongue," says St. James, ch. iii. v. 5-6, "is a little member, and boasteth great things; behold how great "a matter a little fire kindleth." On this occasion a few tongues helped to dismember an empire. Chatham's prophetic eye had discerned months before this memorable debate the issue of such zealotry. And in the month of November, 1776, when America was ringing with the Declaration of Independence, and England was exasperated by what it considered as the sin of witchcraft, the Earl, being then very sick at Hayes, and not expecting to recover,[b] solemnly charged his physician, Dr. Addington, to bear testimony that he died with his opinions respecting America unchanged. He renewed a former prediction that, unless England changed her policy, France would espouse the cause of the Americans. France, he said, only waited till England was more deeply engaged in this "ruining war against herself in America, as well as to prove how "far the Americans, abetted by France *indirectly* only, may be able

[a] As a sample of the reasoning of this pamphlet I take the following:—"One "of their complaints is not such as can "claim much commiseration from the "softest bosom. They tell us that we "have changed our conduct, and that "a tax is now laid by Parliament on "those which [sic] were never taxed by "Parliament before. To this we think "it may be easily answered that the "longer they have been spared, the "better they can pay." By a similar process of arguing, Hampden might be shown to have been in arrear for ship-money, and Prynne for ears.

[b] "O! but they say the tongues of dying men
Enforce attention, like deep harmony:
Where words are scarce, they are seldom spent in vain;
For they breathe truth, that breathe their words in pain."
'Richard II.' act ii. sc. 1.

" to make a stand, before she takes an open part by declaring war " upon England."[a]

At this period there is almost a total blank in the Chatham Correspondence. The great statesman was secluded from the world for two years, from the spring of 1775 to that of 1777. Once before, and for nearly the same length of time, from March 1767 to April 1769, he had been similarly disabled. His house was so shut up that his sons were not permitted to receive visitors;[b] his letters were opened and acknowledged by Lady Chatham; and only his nearest kindred were permitted, and they not frequently, to see him. No business of state, and indeed scarcely business of any kind, could be mentioned to him, for it threw him into fits of hysteria. He would pass whole days in solitude and silence, the world forgetting, and almost by the world forgot. " He was almost as much forgotten " as if he had been already lying in Westminster Abbey."[c]

Perhaps it was fortunate for the Ministry that Pitt was little more than " magni nominis umbra " in 1775 and 1776. It was certainly most unfortunate for the nation, whom he had so often aroused and nerved to action, and for the King, who could not dictate to Pitt as he dictated to the good-natured and loyal, but temporising and infirm Lord North. We have already seen that one American, speaking apparently for his countrymen, believed that Chatham could alone have acted as daysman between England and her colonies even as late as the November of 1775. Even at this period of depression a gleam of his feeling for America manifested itself. His eldest son, Lord Pitt, was aide-de-camp to General Carleton in Canada, and in the autumn of 1775 was sent home with despatches. On the 14th of February, 1776, Lady Chatham, after acknowledging the advantages her son had derived from the " eye and protec- " tion " of the General, who had treated young Pitt as his " contu- " bernalis " in its true Roman import, proceeds:—" Feeling all this, Sir, as Lord Chatham does, you will tell yourself with what concern he communicates to you a step that, from his fixed opinion with regard to the continuance of the unhappy war with our fellow-subjects in America, he has found it necessary to take. It is that of withdrawing his son from such a service."[d]

" Another officer of rank," writes Lord Mahon, vi. p. 74, " a " Howard Earl of Effingham, had already on the same ground " resigned his commission also. These resignations being openly

[a] 'Chatham Corresp.' iv. p. 424.

[b] Lord Camden to the Duke of Grafton, Jan. 4, 1776, from a MS. cited by Lord Mahon, vi. p. 73.

[c] Lord Macaulay, 'Edin. Review,' Oct. 1844.

[d] 'Chatham Corresp.,' iv. p. 420; and compare an earlier letter of Lady Chatham's to General Carleton on the same subject, p. 410.

" made gave matter for much public comment. That must indeed,
" cried the friends of the colonists, be a guilty and a wretched war,
" when even the Minister who conquered Canada will not allow
" his son to unsheath the sword for its defence."

LETTER 345.

* Queen's House, Feb. 2nd, 1776.
46 min. pt. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I can easily imagine you must be anxious to know how matters stand with Lord Howe; I therefore, before I get to dinner, just take up my pen to acquaint you that things are very far from desperate, that if no one will interfere I do not despair of bringing things to rights by a greater degree of right-headedness in Lord Sandwich than wrongheadedness in the other party; therefore rest satisfied till you hear more from me.

LETTER 346.

* Queen's House, Feb. 3rd, 1776.
1 min. pt. 3 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I have seen Lord Sandwich, and I think settled the command of the N. American fleet agreably to Lord Howe's proposal to me yesterday. The mode of saving Lord Sandwich and Shuldham I think really without the least objection; if there had been any, I should have jumped over it to settle this material affair. Lord Sandwich deserves commendation for being so very complying. I desire you will take no notice of this; he will state the whole at your

dinner, and is already gone to speak to Lord Howe. I, out of delicacy to Lord Sandwich, leave the expedients I have consented to to be named by himself to you.

Horace Walpole, 'Last Journals,' ii. p. 14, gives the following account of "this material affair:"—"On the death of Sir Charles "Saunders at the end of the preceding year, Lord Sandwich "slightly asked Lord North whether he had any objection to "Admiral Palliser succeeding Sir Charles as Lieutenant-General of "the Marines. Lord North, forgetting that he had promised Lord "Howe should succeed Saunders, replied 'No.' Lord Sandwich, "who loved expedition, and cunning more, carried Palliser imme-"diately to kiss the King's hand. Lord Howe, disappointed "and affronted, came to town, and, meeting Lord North in the "House of Commons, told him he should wait on the King the "next day. 'On what account?' asked Lord North. 'To resign all "my employments on your Lordship's breaking your promise to "me of the Marines,' said Lord Howe; 'and I flatter myself my "brother the General (at Boston) will resign too, when he hears "how I have been used.' Lord North, in a great fright, pleaded "that his mind was so occupied by America that he had forgotten "his promise, and besought the angry Lord to defer his purpose. "Lord George Germaine joined them, and they did prevail: that "is, Lord Howe suspended his resentment for six weeks, waiting to "be pacified by some more lucrative offer. Lord North tempted "Admiral Forbes, General of the Marines, to resign that post to "Lord Howe, in consideration of a pension of 2000*l.* a-year; but "Forbes was stout, and at last the naval command in America "was given as a compensation to Lord Howe, at the expense of "Admiral Shuldham, another friend and favourite of Lord Sand-"wich, who was thus punished for his dexterous industry."

Lord North may have been less zealous in Lord Howe's favour, and Lord Sandwich in the more haste to fill up Sir Charles Saunders' place, because the brothers Howe both sided with the Opposition at this time. So that the "wrongheadedness of the other "party" (Lord Howe) was on the surface a very serious matter. Had Major-General Sir William Howe indeed "resigned," it might have proved an advantage to the British armies in America. "Though generally successful in regular battles, and evincing a good "deal of skill in many of his operations, he was unfortunately "disqualified for the Guerilla warfare in which he was engaged. "From a want of vigilance, his posts were frequently surprised;

"he could seldom procure true intelligence, and was sometimes "the dupe of false. His minute attention to the dress and appear- "ance of his troops in the field would, in these days of less "ceremonious warfare, have been treated with ridicule. While "the soldiers ought to have been pursuing the enemy, they were "delayed in pipeclaying their belts, powdering their hair, and "tying their pigtails." ('Mem. of Rockingham,' ii. p. 327.) Sir William Howe's acceptance of the command in America was deeply resented by his constituents at Nottingham, who thought that he had broken faith with them in consenting to serve against the colonists. "You should have refused to go against them," said many of them; "and if you go, we hope you may fall." A brother of the Admiral and the General had, they were reminded, "died "there in the cause of freedom; they have shown their gratitude "to your name and family by erecting a monument to him." Sir William wrote in reply to these kind wishes that his going there was not his seeking—"I was ordered, and could not refuse." In common with many of the Opposition at the time, he thought that the insurgents would be speedily quelled. There were many loyal and peaceable subjects of the King in America; the rebels were very few in comparison.[a] "When they find," he said in his apologetic letter to the electors of Nottingham, "they are not "supported in their frantic ideas by the more moderate, they will, "from fear of punishment, subside to the laws. This country "must now fix the foundation of its stability with America by "procuring a lasting obedience."

For Lord Howe's active efforts towards conciliating England with the colonies see Parton's 'Life of Franklin,' vol. ii. pp. 41–64.

LETTER 347.

Queen's House, Feb. 24th, 1776.
30 min. pt. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—The head of the Derby family is the proper person to fill the office of Lord Lieutenant of the county of Lancaster, and the present Lord must

[a] Henry Temple Luttrell, replying to Gen. Burgoyne, reminded the House —"Switzerland and the Netherlands "demonstrate what extraordinary ob- "stacles a *small band of insurgents* may "surmount in the cause of liberty!"

meet the more with my approbation from the sincere regard I had for his very honorable father.

The confirmation of the defeat the rebels have sustained at Quebec, being mentioned in a letter from Montreal, is very comfortable.

If Alderman Hopkins maintains the superiority on Monday, I shall think the glory of his adversary on the decline.

"Edward Earl of Derby to be His Majesty's Lieutenant of the "county of Lancaster." March 31. 'London Gazette.'

Apprehensions were entertained that Quebec would fall into the hands of the Provincials, when advice was received from Boston, greatly to the relief of the Court party, that General Montgomery had been killed in an assault on the city, and the Americans repulsed. General Arnold, second in command, was severely wounded and carried from the field. The loss of such leaders was speedily felt by the assailants; on every side they were repulsed, and, a sally being made by the garrison, nearly four hundred men belonging to Arnold's division were surrounded and made prisoners.—December 31, 1775. Quebec indeed was blockaded during the winter. The garrison however had little difficulty in obtaining supplies, and neither party felt themselves justified in renewing the attack. For an account of the daring though unsuccessful enterprise of Montgomery, which commenced on the 13th of September, see Adolphus, ii. p. 237; Lord Mahon, vi. pp. 76-79; 'Ann. Register,' xix. pp. 3-16.

Gibbon, writing to Holroyd, Jan. 18, 1776, says, "Quebec is not "*yet* taken. I hear that Carleton is determined never to capitulate "with rebels. A glorious resolution, if it were supported with "fifty thousand men." Gibbon was evidently in expectation that Quebec would follow the example of Montreal, which was occupied by the Americans in the preceding November. And in an earlier letter, October 14, he writes, "We are not quite easy about *Canada*; "and even if it should be safe from attack, we cannot flatter our- "selves with the expectation of bringing down that martial people "on the Back-Settlements. The priests are ours; the gentlemen "very prudently wait the event, and are disposed to join the "stronger party; but the same lawless spirit and impatience of "government which have infected our colonies are gone forth "among the Canadian peasants, over whom, since the conquest,

"the noblesse have lost much of their ancient influence." There was much apparent reason for expecting that Canada would follow the example of New England. The city of Quebec was most insufficiently provided with troops, provisions, and muniments of war. There was a general belief that Montgomery and Arnold were at the head of a much larger force than they actually brought, and the proclamations issued by the American generals and signed by Washington were by no means ineffective. The insurgents were welcomed in the neighbourhood of Quebec as cordially as they had been in that of Montreal, and the former city was far from loyally disposed to the British Government. The merchants were much dissatisfied with the recent measures of Parliament, and had long before been discontented. Their opposition to the Quebec Act, and the petitions they had sent to England upon that subject, had been grievously resented by the Government; and from that period, as the discontented alleged, not only had they been slighted and treated with indifference, but even regarded with apparent distrust and suspicion. They complained that the French noblesse and civil officers absorbed the favour of England, and took occasion to insult the English portion of the citizens as malcontents. They cited, in proof of the distrust and contempt in which they were held by their rulers, the fact, that when the troops were sent off to Montreal and the Sorel to oppose the rebels, notwithstanding the very alarming state of public affairs, and that the city, together with the large property which they possessed in it, was left exposed without a garrison, their application for leave to be embodied as a militia for its defence was not even noticed. There may have been some exaggeration in these statements; they point however to the fact that the Quebec Act of the year preceding was anything but acceptable to the English in Canada. (See 'Ann. Register,' xix. p. 9, foll.)

LETTER 348.

* Queen's House, March 29th, 1776.
33 min. pt. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am glad you have finished at the Treasury all the business that was necessary to be concluded before M.-G. Burgoyne sets out for Canada. I cannot strongly enough express my astonishment

at Lord Harcourt's presumption in assuring no difficulty would be made about making Lord Drogheda a Marquis; he never had any authority from me on that subject; on the contrary, I have, both in the times of Lord Hertford and of Lord Townshend, declined making Irish Marquises, and I have not in the least changed my opinion on that subject. I am heartily sick of Lord Harcourt's mode of trying step by step to draw me to fulfill his absurd requests. I desire I may hear no more of Irish Marquises; I feel for the English Earls, and do not chuse to disgust them.

LETTER 349.

* Queen's House, March 30th, 1776.
46 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am much pleased with the letters to M.-G. Carleton and Burgoyne, and see in them that precision which it would be no disadvantage to other Departments if they would imitate.

I owne, if strong reasons do not occurr in favour of Sir John Dalrymple, I shall much incline to another English puisné Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland.[a]

LETTER 350.

** Queen's House, March 31st, 1776.
10 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am sincerely obliged to you for acquainting me that you look upon the Receiver-

[a] May 11. "Sir John Dalrymple, "Bart., to be one of the Barons of His "Majesty's Court of Exchequer, in the "room of William Mure, Esq., de- "ceased." 'London Gazette,' May. And, in the same month, to be a Lord Justiciary in Scotland, in the room of Lord Colston, resigned.

General of Jamaica as a Treasury employment, and shall be ready to give any assistance in this business, provided the appointment be made out in favour of one of your sons. As you seemed to expect, Lord George Germaine wrote to me in favour of his second son; but I instantly answered that I was apprized of the vacancy, but could not think of any appointment untill it was clearly proved that it had been usually prepared in his office, as I believed, as other Receivers, that it ought to be filled up by Warrant of the Lords of the Treasury. You will never find any occasion of providing for your children that I shall not be more happy if possible than yourself to provide for them. It has not been my fate in general to be well served; by you I have, and therefore cannot forget it.

"The vacancy in the Receiver-Generalship of Jamaica was made "by the death of Baron Mure. An attempt was made to obtain "this place for Baron Mure's son, but Lord George Germaine "appointed his own son, afterwards Duke of Dorset, who held it "till his death in 1841. While Baron Mure held it, the emolu- "ments rose from 700*l.* a-year to 1000*l.*; but during the Duke of "Dorset's time they had risen to 6000*l.* a-year." (Lord Brougham's note, p. 95. Compare 'Caldwell Papers,' vol. i. pt. 2, p. 173.)

Letter 351.

Queen's House, April 13th, 1776.
25 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Lord North,—Though I am to have the pleasure of seeing you to-morrow, I cannot avoid just expressing my approbation at the modes you mean to propose for raising the money required. I am rather surprised that you think the sum sufficient, but the taxing luxuries is not only proper but a desirable measure.

I cannot see the instruction given to the Lord Lieutenant concerning the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland in the same light it has been stated to you, and when you converse with those that drew up the paper am certain you will change your opinion. At the same time I cannot deny very fully joining with you in believing that two of the persons hoped it would prompt the Lord Lieutenant to retire.

I wish you would without farther delay see Lord G. Germaine, and put the finishing hand to the Commission. Lord Howe's idea of not being so tightly bound as to the change of government in Connecticut and Rhode Island I hope will not be consented to, as I think the alteration most material; indeed, if Lord Howe would give up being a Commissioner, I should think it better for himself as well as the service.

I desire you will give notice to Lord Suffolk's office that the proper instrument be prepared for calling Mr. Southwell to the House of Lords.

I perfectly understood last week that you could not come to me this week, and therefore did not expect you; I shall not take any notice to Lord Dartmouth of your having omitted to deliver his message.

I desire you will bring to-morrow the list of persons proposed by the Lord Lieutenant to be promoted to the ranks of Earls, Viscounts, and Barons, as well as the English gentlemen you have to recommend for Irish titles; every day gives me fresh reason to abide [by] my resolution of not creating Marquisses in Ireland.*

The supplies for 1776 were 9,000,000*l.* "In providing the ways "and means, a loan of 2,000,000*l.* was found necessary: but the "funds for paying the interest being taxes on articles of luxury, the

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* See Letter 348.

"Minister maintained his reputation in the department of finance." (Hughes, 'Hist. of England,' ii. p. 218.)

Lord North opened his Budget on the 24th of April, and proposed additional taxes on coaches, dice, cards, and newspapers, and a tax on *stage* coaches exempted before. It is curious in 1866 to find newspapers and the instruments of locomotion classed among "luxuries." The tax-payers did not murmur, although the tax on newspapers had rather a suspicious aspect. Perhaps the Government and their majority were of Colonel Talbot's opinion on this article of "luxury." He tells Waverley that he understands there are no fewer than six journals now circulating in London, and that, consequently, being so many, they must coin lies in order to live!

It appears from an entry in Horace Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 14, Feb. 3, that there was some distrust of Lord Howe as Commissioner, He says,—"Lord Howe was appointed Chief "Admiral in America, and had been designed for sole Commissioner "for peace: but the Court had now no thoughts of treating with "the Americans, whom it was determined to subdue by force. "It had been for some time uncertain whether Lord Howe would "accept either command—nay, whether he would not resign all his "employments."

On the 2nd of July "the dignity of Viscount of the Kingdom of "Ireland was granted to the Right Hon. Thomas George, Baron "*Southwell*, by the title of Viscount Southwell, of Castle Mattress, "in the County of Limerick."

Letter 352.

Queen's House, April 24th, 1776.
20 min. pt. 9 p.m.

Lord North,—The hearing that the loan and taxes have passed this day the House of Commons without a division gives me infinite satisfaction. That Opposition debated at large on American measures instead of objecting to the business is a convincing proof that your proposals were just, and that there was nothing for them with the shaddow [sic] of justice to attack.

Letter 353.

*Queen's House, April 25th, 1776.
52 min. pt. 9 p.m.

Lord North,—The absurdity of Sir James Lowther is so far unpleasant that it gives unnecessary trouble to the House of Commons. It is very plain the Opposition do not well know how to conduct themselves when they can submit to be led by such a man.

The Lords having thrown out the Bill for indemnifying the Ministers for advising the garrisoning of Gibraltar and Port Mahon with foreign troops, Sir James Lowther again moved for a resolution against that measure, but without success. Ministers indeed had never desired the Bill; and at the third reading, Lord Rockingham, moving to have it thrown out, had been surprised to find himself seconded by Lord Weymouth; and nobody saying a word for the Bill, it was lost by a majority of 61 (149—88). 'Parl. Hist., xix. p. 1330.

Letter 354.

*Queen's House, April 30th, 1776.
40 min. pt. 5 p.m.

Lord North,—I am very well contented at the great majority of this day on the old question. This reception must, I think, prevent the renewal of it the next Session.

Wilkes made his annual motion to expunge the resolution of the House of the 17th February, 1769, "That John Wilkes, Esq., having "been in this Session of Parliament expelled this House, was and is "incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament." The motion was lost by 94 (186—92). 'Parl. Hist.,' xix. p. 1336.

Letter 355.

Queen's House, May 6th, 1776.
15 min. pt. 10 p.m.

Lord North,—I return the warrants which I have signed, and cannot help expressing some amazement that any man could support the proposition of Mr. Barré that has the least wish to be thought a man of candour. I therefore am not surprised at the fate it met with.

The proposition, however, was very nearly being accepted by the House, and might have been so had not some of the principal members of Opposition been at Newmarket or in the country. Mr. Burke and General Conway supported Mr. Barré's motion, which was for the production of General Howe's despatches on leaving Boston. There was a debate in the Lords on the same question on the 10th of this month. ('Parl. Hist.,' xix. p. 1345.) Barré complained that votes of credit were given, as for example on the 2nd of May, while no information was vouchsafed in return, or, if any were given, it was garbled or false. He produced many instances of Lord Chatham's readiness to afford intelligence to Parliament during the last war, and Burke declaimed on the enormous lying of the 'Gazette.' The Ministers opposed Barré and his backers with the official plea, "Now is not the time."

Letter 356.

Queen's House, May 11th, 1776.
2 min. pt. 9 a.m.

Lord North,—This is merely to remind you to send this morning to the several persons that are to be created English Peers for their respective titles, and as soon as you receive them to send to Lord Suffolk's office, that they may be instantly prepared, as Mr. Harley's election much depends on the soon expediting Mr. Foley's peerage.

Twelve new peerages were declared, as many as had created clamour at the end of Queen Anne's reign. The new creations were:—

1. Lord Carmarthen, called up to the House of Lords.
2. The Duchess of Argyle a baroness, that her son, the Duke of Hamilton, might be an English peer.
3. Lord Polwarth, son of the Earl of Marchmont.
4. Lord Mountstewart, son of the Earl of Bute.
5. Sir Edward Hawke, Baron Hawke, of Towton, co. York.
6. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, 1st Lord Amherst.
7. George Onslow, Baron Cranley.
8. George Pitt, Baron Rivers, of Sudeley Castle, co. Gloucester.
9. Mr. Ryder, Baron Harrowby, of Harrowby, co. Lincoln.
10. Mr. Foley, Baron Foley, of Kidderminster, co. Worcester.
11. Sir Brownlow Cust, Baron Brownlow, of Belton, co. Lincoln.
12. Mr. Southwell, to whom the barony of Clifford, then in abeyance, was allotted.

Since the accession of George the Third thirty-four new peers, including these creations, had been appointed. A joke of Queen Anne's reign was now revived, and it was asked, when these peerages were gazetted, whether the *twelve* would be bound to speak through their foreman. The number of the Lords now amounted to 237.

Letter 357.

Queen's House, May 12th, 1776.
20 min. pt. 5 p.m.

Lord North,—I desire you will acquaint the Dutchess of Argyll that I very willingly consent that the barony granted to her may be for her and her heirs male lawfully begotten. You will at the same time give notice to the Secretary of State's office that the peerage be prepared agreable to the above.

The Duchess of Argyle was Lady of the Bedchamber, and just now on good terms with the Queen, though two years before they had been mutually dissatisfied with each other. It is perhaps needless to say that the Duchess was the beautiful Elizabeth Gunning,

sister of Lady Coventry, and by her first marriage Duchess of Hamilton. An Irish girl, at one time designed for the stage, was destined "to become the mother of those formerly great and "contending houses" (Hamilton and Argyle). (Walpole, 'Mem. of Geo. III.' vol. iii. p. 190.)

The Duchess was gazetted on the 14th of this month:—

"The Duchess of Argyle to be a Baroness of Great Britain, by "the title of Baroness Hamilton, of Hameldon, in the county of "Leicester, with the dignity of a Baron to her heirs male." By this creation her son the Duke of Hamilton, already a Scotch peer, now became an English peer also.

Letter 358.

Queen's House, May 24th, 1776.
44 min. pt. 9 a.m.

Lord North,—The many unpleasant affairs I have on my mind, which (not as to a Minister, but to a man whose personal worth and attachment I can rely on) I shortly stated to you on Wednesday, totally made me forget to return the papers you communicated to me from Ireland and India. I now return them. I cannot help saying that the pensions proposed are enormous; but as things are situated, must be complied with. I desire you will send Lord Weymouth the list of Peers to be made on this side of the water, and that you will by a letter explain to Lord Harcourt that the reason of not delaying them for an official recommendation from him is to remove the inconvenience that must arise to him if the Irish gentlemen proposed by him are not introduced in the House of Lords on the meeting of the new Parliament, who otherwise would be members of neither House.

Parliament was prorogued on the preceding day. Mr. Hartley then moved for "an Address to the King not to prorogue the

"Parliament." His motion, which was negatived, recapitulated the causes of complaint against the Government—for withholding information, demands for the war in America, ill success, and the recent loss of Ticonderoga, and retreat from Boston. The stocks were falling every day.

LETTER 359.

* Kew, May 27th, 1776.

MY DEAR LORD,—My conversation on Wednesday was addressed to the man I esteem from an experience of his worth and attachment of my person, not as an attention to the first Commissioner of the Treasury; so is this letter.

On that occasion I mentioned the Lord[s] Dartmouth, Ashburnham, and Bruce as the only persons that occurred to me in the least from their characters as fit to succeed Lord Holdernesse. You said you could not think of any one to add to the list, and concurred with me in opinion that neither of the two first would be induced to undertake the arduous task. I also mentioned that from principles of honour I could not press Mr. Smelt to continue Sub-Governor with any other Governor than Lord Holdernesse; that Mr. Jackson knowing he was to be removed prior to my receiving any intimation of Lord Holdernesse's intentions to retire, the Bishop of Chester was the only one of the establishment concerning whom it was necessary for me to take any decision; that on principle I think the Governor is my representative, and as such no one about them must have more hold on them than him, therefore that on the new appointment of a Governor I must produce a new preceptor: when to this is added the want of regard of my sons to Lord Holdernesse has

made him resign, though he will put it on his health, they would secretly feel a kind of victory if the Bishop remained; I therefore yesterday took the painful task of sending for the Bishop of Chester, and with kindness and frankness told him that, as Lord Holdernesse meant to retire, I should at the same time appoint a new preceptor, and gave him naturally the ideas on which I had formed this resolution.

On Thursday I saw Lord Bruce, and used every argument to compell him to step forth to my assistance; told him you had owned that, as neither Lord Dartmouth nor Lord Ashburnham could with any probability of success be sounded, that you concurred with my opinion that the purity of his morals, and never having been mixed in party, made the choise [sic] a respectable one; that he was to consider that party and many private vices gave me no other persons to fix on but one of the three I had mentioned; that therefore when he reflected he must weigh whether duty did not oblige [him] to answer to my call; I gave him till Saturday for consideration, only adding if he came it would be with a new præceptor; that as principle alone actuated me on this occasion, it must occurr to him that the Bishop of Litchfield was in my mind.

On Saturday he wished to decline, but after a very full conversation, seeing my distress of mind, he very handsomely consented to accept, provided the Bishop of Litchfield came to his assistance. He has by my direction spoke this morning to that Bishop, and on Wednesday I hope to be able to say to you that I have secured those two, which will restore my mind to a state of ease, which you cannot think a tender father can possess unless satisfied of the moral principles of men to whose care he intrusts his children.

Your letter on Friday was a convincing proof of your affectionate solicitude for me, in being willing, if necessary, to press Lord Dartmouth to change his situation, in which I am confident you would not have succeeded, yet would have distressed his mind; for I do place no small glory in being convinced that I am cordially loved by that good man.

The Bishop of Chester was William Markham, Dean of Christchurch, Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of York.

Horace Walpole ('Last Journals of,' ii. p. 49) gives the following version of these displacements and appointments:—

"It was suddenly declared that the King had dismissed Dr. "Markham and Mr. Jackson from being Preceptor and Sub-"Preceptor to the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburg; "and that Lord Holderness and Mr. Smelt, his Royal Highness's "Governor and Sub-Governor, had resigned those posts. All that "got out at first was that Holderness had been quarelling with "Jackson for three months, and had said he could not serve "with him. . . . . Lord Holderness had been for his health to the "south of France, and returned in the preceding autumn, 'improved "in health, but very deaf.' He found that, during his absence, "great prejudices against him had been instilled into the minds of "his pupils; and it had grown so bad that from the last November "they had treated his authority with contempt, and often ridiculed "him to his face. This he imputed to Jackson." It seems that the Prince-Bishop had gone the farthest, and was the instrument to inflame his brother.

Letter 360.

*Kew, May 28th, 1776.

Lord North,—The letter I received this day from you, in answer to mine of yesterday, is the most ample proof of your affectionate feeling for me. The Bishop of Litchfield has with great modesty and propriety

agreed to come as Præceptor to my children; I shall therefore direct Lord Bruce and him to come and kiss hands at the levee on Friday. I wish you would communicate my last letter to Lord Dartmouth, as I am desirous he should exactly know the springs on which I have acted.

The Rev. Francis Kilvert, the most recent biographer of Dr. Hurd, says, in his 'Life,' p. 120:—"The year 1774 witnessed "Dr. Hurd's advancement to the episcopate as Bishop of Lichfield "and Coventry, on the translation of Dr. Brownlow North to the "see of Worcester. This elevation has been ascribed to King "George the Third's admiration of his 'Moral and Political Dia-"logues.' It is said that the King, one day pointing to these "Dialogues, said, 'These made Hurd a Bishop. I never saw him "till he came to kiss hands.' Considering, however, the dexterity "with which those about Courts contrive imperceptibly to direct "the choice of princes, we can hardly doubt that his powerful "friends, Lord Mansfield, Mr. Charles Yorke, and Bishop War-"burton, had much to do with this important step on the ladder "of promotion."

It is much more likely that the 'Dialogues' made the Bishop preceptor to the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, than that they made Dr. Hurd Bishop of Lichfield. The Dialogue on 'the British Constitution' may have been particularly savoury to the royal palate. The favourable impression made by this work is said to have been confirmed by the 'Lectures on Prophecy,' delivered by Hurd at Lincoln's Inn, which Lord Mansfield placed before his Majesty.

On the 7th of June the new preceptor wrote thus to Dr. Balguy: "In duty and gratitude I could not decline this charge.... The "young Princes (I do not say it for form sake and in the way of "compliment) are extremely promising." And on the following day to the same friend he writes: "Something like a plan of studies "is projecting, and will be wanted in no long time, and we shall "not satisfy ourselves without your advice." (Kilvert's 'Life of Hurd,' p. 130.)

A courtly historian says that "The Prince of Wales and the "Bishop of Osnaburg bade fair for excelling the rest of mankind in "learning, as much as they were their superiors in rank: eight "hours' close application to the languages and the sciences was

"daily enjoined them, and their industry was unremitting." (Huish's 'Memoirs of George the Third,' p. 360.)

Letter 361.

Kew, May 29th, 1776.

Lord North,—The long conversation I had with you this day made me omit a point of delicacy on which I wish to consult you. The appointment of Lord Bruce as Governor to my sons vacats [sic] a Lord of the Bedchamber. I recollect of no other person that has wished to be of that number but Lord Cathcart.[a] I cannot say that I see any reason to appoint him on this occasion, and I am much inclined to nominate Lord Carmarthen, whose manners are very fit for the employment; besides, it would be a strong testimonial of my regard for his father-in-law. I wish you would give me your sentiments on this subject.

Letter 362.

Kew, May 30th, 1776. 47 min. pt. 7 p.m.

Lord North,—I am glad you see the vacancy in my Bedchamber in the same light I do. I have therefore directed Lord Ashburnham by letter to direct Lord Carmarthen to attend to-morrow to succeed Lord Bruce, and desire you will not omit writing by to-morrow's

[a] The Right Hon. Charles Shaw Cathcart, Lord Cathcart, Knight of the Thistle, and a member of the Privy Council, died on the 21st of August following. Lord Carmarthen was appointed, *vice* Lord Bruce, to the Bedchamber. He was married to Lady Amelia Darcy, Earl Holderness's only child. The Earl, "his father-in-law," was just then in high favour with the King for his quiet resignation of the Governorship of the Princes. On the King's birthday the Queen presented Lady Holderness with a bracelet of her hair set with diamonds.

post to Lord Cathcart, that I thought it absolutely a point of delicacy to nominate Lord Carmarthen on this particular occasion, but that he shall be appointed on the next vacancy, which, considering Lord Masham's[a] state of health, cannot be far distant.

P.S. The warrants for the three Earldoms are not yet come. I desire you will send to Mr. Frazer to remind him that I wish still to sign them this evening.

Letter 363.

Kew, May 30th, 1776. 13 min. pt. 7 p.m.

My dear Lord,—I am not surprised, with the multitude of business that you are engaged in, that you should have mistaken my direction to notify to Lord Suffolk that warrants should be prepared for creating the Duke of Montague Earl of Montague, with the remainder to the Dutchess of Buccleugh and her heirs male; the creating Lord Bruce Earl of Aylesbury, and Lord Hyde Earl of Clarendon. As Lord Hyde will be the junior, it is no reason to delay the other warrants till he is prepared, and I must desire that the two former be ready for my signing at St. James's by twelve this day, and that you will on receipt of this send a note to the Duke of Montague acquainting him that I shall this day sign the warrant for his creation. As to Lady Beaulieu, she never had any promise from me, and no other proof can be necessary than her manifest appearance of neglect in never coming to Court since the Duke of Montague was advanced, which conduct has uniformly been followed by her son: and the poli-

[a] Lord Masham died on the 14th of June.

tical part Lord Beaulieu has taken, if the others are not proofs sufficient, shew none of the family placed any hopes on me.

Lord Hyde. Thomas Villiers, younger brother of the last Earl of Jersey, had married Lady Charlotte Capel, eldest daughter of William Anne Earl of Essex, by the eldest daughter of the last Earl of Clarendon and Rochester. Horace Walpole ('Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 55) says, "Lord Hyde was created Earl of Clarendon, "and Lord Trevor (formerly Minister at the Hague and father-in-"law of the Earl of Suffolk) Viscount Hampden. These peers had "been connected with George Grenville, and were supposed to owe "their promotions to Lord Suffolk, the patron of that connection. "Lord Hyde was so dull a man that Lord Cavendish said with a "sneer, 'The Ministers have made a Rebellion, and now they have "made a Lord Clarendon to write the History of it.'"

Letter 364.

St. James's, May 31st, 1776.
15 min. pt. 1 p.m.

Lord North,—I have this instant received your letter, which throws me into the greatest state of uneasiness I ever felt. Last year, when I mentioned the application of the Duke of Montague for the Earldom of Montague, you never reminded me of wishing that title for Lady Beaulieu; on Wednesday was sevennight, when I mentioned that the creating Lord Bruce an Earl would oblige me to create his brother Earl of Montague, and also on Wednesday, when I directed the preparing the two warrants, this did [not] occasion any other remark than that it would distress Lady Beaulieu. I have accordingly, through Lord Bruce, acquainted the Duke that he will be Earl of Montague; I cannot retract. If you do wish an Earldom for Lady Beaulieu,

I will grant her one of any other name to ease your mind; but fairly owne I think her conduct to me, as well as that of all her family, deserve none. Come immediately. I cannot go to my levee, nor see any mortal, till you have been here.

Letter 365.

Queen's House, June 2nd, 1776.
20 min. pt. 8 p.m.

Lord North,—I thought by the step I had taken yesterday that my distress was at an end; but after you left me this day I saw the Bishop of Litchfield, who brought me the melancholy news that some difficulties from Lady Bruce had so agitated her husband that he was come to acquaint me from him that he could not think of being Governor to my children. The Bishop broke it with the greatest gentleness. I instantly sent Lord Ashburnham, whose secrecy I could depend upon, to acquaint the D. of Montague of this event, and to desire the Duke to come to me. I have so powerfully shewn that my fresh distress arose from his family, that I have persuaded him to supply the place of his brother, which he does on the following conditions—not to be appointed until Wednesday, by which he avoids appearing on the birthday, for which he has no cloaths, and that Lord Bruce may still have the Earldom of Ailesbury. You will therefore, without farther delay, order the Earldom of Montague for the Duke, with the remainder to the Dss. of Buccleugh and her male heirs. I am this instant going to Kew to acquaint my sons of this change.

Horace Walpole ('Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 53) throws light on the King's "distress:"—"Lord Bruce had barely taken possession "of his post and dined once with the Prince, when he suddenly "retired into the country, and, it was said, even without giving "notice or taking leave. The Bishop of Lichfield was left to inform "the King that the Governor did not mean to return. It was "given out that his wife, who was at the Bath, had written to "him to say it would kill her if he accepted an employment that "would deprive her of so much of his company. In fact, Lord "Bruce did quit as suddenly as I have said, and then the King "pitched upon his eldest brother, the Duke of Montagu, one of the "weakest and most ignorant men living, for Governor to the "Princes. The late Duchess, his wife, had often lamented with "tears, in his presence, that he was not fit for any of the great "offices of state."

The King's letters sufficiently explain these difficulties about the governing and educating the royal children. The result was gazetted on the 8th of June, viz.:—

"The Duke of Montagu to be Governor; Richard Bishop of "Lichfield and Coventry, Preceptor; Lieut.-Colonel George Hotham, "Sub-Governor; and the Rev. William Arnold, B.D.,[a] Sub-Pre-"ceptor to their Royal Highnesses." And on the 30th of June: "The Right Hon. Lord Bruce to be of his Majesty's most honourable "Privy Council." He was also "created an Earl of Great Britain, "by the name, style, and title of Earl of Ailesbury, in the county "of Buckingham."

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[a] Arnold, or, as his name should be written, Arnald (see Kilvert's 'Life of Hurd,' p. 129), was probably next to Dr. Hurd the fittest person among the list, so far as regarded learning and ability, for an instructor of princes. In 1775 he was chaplain to Bishop Hurd. But he was subject to occasional derangement, and was staying at Hartlebury—Hurd was then preferred to Worcester—when his last paroxysm, of which he was perfectly aware, came upon him. From 1782 to 1802, when he died, he continued under restraint. His delusion, however, was not of a very unusual kind; he was ambitious of a mitre, and, when allowed by his attendants to wear one, he was tolerably composed. His disorder would appear to have been of the harmless sort that afflicted the worthy gentleman at Argos:—

"Qui se credebat miros audire tragœdos."
Hor. Epist. II. 2, 128.

It seems almost a pity that he was not permitted to wear a mitre in earnest; in which case Dr. Arnald might have exclaimed, "Pol, me *servatis* amici." He had indeed been indiscreet enough to give offence to the University of Cambridge by his Commencement sermon, in which he exhorted his hearers to maintain the character of the University, by a regard to letters, morals, and religion. Kilvert, l. c.

Letter 366.

Queen's House, June 3rd, 1776.

Lord North,—I have the satisfaction to inform you that I have already found a person in every respect proper to fill the important trust of Sub-Governor; the person is Lieut.-Col. Hotham, a brother of Sir Charles Thompson, and I believe as worthy a man. The Bishop has recommended Mr. Arnold, the principal tutor at St. John's College, whose mildness, morals, and cheerfulness are as conspicuous as his tallents.

Letter 367.

Queen's House, June 6th, 1776.

Lord North,—Yesterday Lord Talbot came to me to give up the house he has by my particular permission inhabited at Windsor; he assures me that, if I let any private person have it, such large demands would be made for repairs that I should find it very inconvenient; my whole difficulty would arise from the many pretenders; but on mentioning his intention to the Queen, she expressed a strong wish that, as Queen Anne had lived there, and, consequently, untill I lent [it] to this Lord Steward it had been deemed a Royal Appartment, that I would give it to her. This removes all applications, and it will give us a means of some pleasant jaunts to that beautiful park: by knowing this you will prevent my meeting with fruitless applications.

This Lord Steward. William Talbot, Earl Talbot, had been appointed for the coronation of George the Third, 1761. For an account of this eccentric nobleman see 'Memoirs of Rockingham,' vol.

i. p. 271-275. He was ranked among the "King's Friends." He had, according to Walpole, "some wit and a little tincture of a "disordered understanding, but was better known as a boxer and "a man of pleasure than in the light of a statesman." His boxing powers did yeoman's service when in March, 1769, the mob was forcing its way into St. James's Palace. See Letter 6, note.

The house was not completely finished until 1785. It was settled upon Her Majesty as part of her jointure, and designed for her country residence in case of her surviving the King. There was one singularity attending the furniture of this house—that many of the beds, quilts, and even carpets, were the work of Her Majesty, the princesses, maids of honour, and other females of the Queen's household. "Filiam et neptes ita instituit ut etiam lanificio assue-"faceret."

LETTER 368.

Kew, June 22nd, 1776. 13 min. pt. 11 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I have signed the warrants. The majority in favour of Mr. Pery is very far superior to what could reasonably have been expected. The money [matter?] has ended as well as could have been wished. I will consent to the pension for Sir John Blacquiere being granted in the mode he has desired, but the quantum must not exceed 1000*l.*

I think you ought to write by the ships now sailing for Canada to M.-G. Carleton my approbation of his conduct, and that Lady Mary will be the bearer of the Red Ribband.

I am also very well contented with the mode in which the business of the preparations of the Navy have been curtailed at the meeting on Thursday.

I am sorry to find I am to have an audience of Lord Claremont on Wednesday, to deprecate his being not instantly made an Earl, and, I fear, appealing to what

Lord Weymouth said in my name some time ago, on which he built certain hopes of success.

The Irish Parliament having expired, there was a strong opposition to the Court at the new elections, the American war having rendered Government very unpopular in Ireland. The election of the Speaker *Pery* was however carried by a large majority. Two Court bills were thrown out, and then the Parliament was prorogued.

The Red Ribband was given to General Carleton for his defence of Quebec, which he had maintained against the opinion of his officers. Lord George Germaine was strongly opposed to his having this distinction. The Secretary for the Colonies and the General were on very bad terms. The latter had resented the appointment of one Christie as Quartermaster-General in preference to his own brother, and, trusting to his great services, had slighted the King's nomination, and, sending Christie up the country, nominated his brother. He did not communicate to Lord Germaine his design to prepare to pass the Lakes, and acted with more vigour, though perhaps less wisely for his own interests, than most of the superior officers then employed in America.

While the *Red Ribband* was on its way to Canada, Carleton had driven the Americans out of St. John's, Chamblay, and Montreal, and restored the Canadas to the Crown of England.

LETTER 369.

* September 17th, 1776.
47 min. pt. 9 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—The request of Lord Mansfield, after a zealous support of near sixteen years without having ever asked any favour from the Crown, seemed to entitle him very reasonably to ask the mark of favour he did yesterday. I meant in a few days to have called at Bushy and to have mentioned his application, but he was so cautious that, after having mentioned it to me, he begged I would take no step till he had let you know his

request, as he did not chuse to receive my approbation but through your channel. You may send notice for him to attend to-morrow at St. James's.

The favour asked was to be created Earl Mansfield, with reversion to his nephew Lord Stormont. "Lord Mansfield created Earl "Mansfield in the county of Nottingham, with remainder to the "heirs male of his father." (October 18. 'London Gazette.')

LETTER 370.

Kew, October 28th, 1776. 41 min. pt. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I sincerely congratulate * on having so far regained the use of his arm as to have accompanied the enclosed papers with a few lines. I cannot say that the letter from Port l'Orient seems very much to be depended upon. The one from the Lord-Lieutenant concerning the Presbyterians I hope is exact, but I am sorry he is so little enclined to give you a little more time to see whether a proper person can be found to hold the office of Lord-Lieutenant.

On the 23rd of September Lord North had broken his arm by a fall from his horse.

The Earl of Harcourt's administration had lasted four years since he became Lord-Lieutenant in November 1772, and had he consented to the King's wishes he would have remained another year in office. The Lord-Lieutenancy was offered in the first instance to Lord Rochford, and next to the Duke of Marlborough, but it was declined by these noblemen, either from dislike to a three years' residence, or on account of the rising disaffection of the Irish. Lord Harcourt was replaced by John Earl of Buckinghamshire, on the 25th of January, 1777.

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* Word omitted in the original letter.

We have found, in some of the preceding letters, the King ill satisfied with his Viceroy. "The British Cabinet," says Mr. Plowden, "was little satisfied with the administration of Lord Harcourt. "The easy and delicate turn of his mind ill qualified him to sup- "port, much less to improve upon, the late system. Government "upon the whole still retained a majority: yet several of their "adherents had occasionally during the session (1775-6) proved "recreant from their instructions; some had deserted their ranks; "many wavered, menaced, and complained of the terms of their "engagement." One characteristic feature of his Lordship's administration was an unusual creation of Peers. Five Viscounts were advanced to Earldoms, seven Barons to be Viscounts, and eighteen new Barons were created on the same day. The market terms of these peerages were an engagement to support the party of their promoters by their individual votes in the Lords, and by those of their substitutes in the Commons, whose seats were settled before the new Peers had vacated them on their promotion. See Debate, 10th May, 1776, on Mr. Sawbridge's motion ('Parl. Hist.' xviii. p. 1352) for "continuing America upon the same foot "for giving and granting money as Ireland;" and especially Mr. Temple Luttrell's speech on that occasion.

LETTER 371.

* Queen's House, October 31st, 1776.
2 min. pt. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—On the vacancy of the Archbishoprick of York, that see must be offered to the Bishop of London; if you would send me a message up to the House of Lords, it would double the favour by doing it without loss of time; if he accepts, the Bishop of Chester to be translated to London; if London declines, then Chester to York. I desire some consideration may be had to finding a man of exemplary conduct to be brought on the bench on this occasion; as to the Deanery of Christchurch, Doctor Bagot from his character seems the best calculated for that responsible office.[a]

[a] See Letter 379.

LETTER 372.

* Queen's House, November 1st, 1776.
35 min. pt. 11 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am much pleased with the very great and favourable appearance on the opening of Session; and though I am not much credulous as to the authenticity of the accounts of debates in the House of Commons, yet there is one this morning which contains such admirable strokes on the times, stated to have been produced in your speech, that it has infinitely amused me. I deferred writing till now from a desire of hearing how you stood the fatigue; for the quiet you have some time been confined to and the sparing diet must have a little affected you.[a]

Parliament met on the 31st of October. The King's Speech, in spite of the recent successes of the British forces in Canada and New York, was less confident than usual. Lord North's speech, to which this letter alludes, seems scarcely deserving such approbation. It was, in fact, an apology, and a feeble one, for indecision and delay.

"In his Speech from the Throne, the King alluded with triumph-
"ant hope to the victory on Long Island, but informed his Parlia-
"ment that, notwithstanding the fair prospect, it was necessary
"to prepare for another campaign. Amendments to the Address
"were proposed by Lord Rockingham and Lord John Cavendish,
"but were rejected by large majorities. Early in this November
"Lord John Cavendish moved for a revisal of all the laws by
"which the Americans considered themselves aggrieved. His
"motion was negatived by 109 to 47. From this time forth, a
"large portion of the Rockingham party, considering, as they
"afterwards urged, that 'there was no saving a people against
"their will, determined to reserve their exertions for a season
"when the national delirium should so far abate as to afford some
"hope of advantage.' Accordingly they withdrew themselves from
"Parliament, and, to mark their conduct the more, attended in

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[a] See Letter 370.

"the morning upon private business, but, as soon as a public "question was introduced, took a formal leave of the Speaker, "and immediately withdrew." ('Memoirs of Rockingham,' vol. ii. p. 304.) Lord Stanhope ('Hist. of England,' vi. p. 138) severely censures their conduct. Yet at a moment of lunacy in the nation, of what avail would it have been to propose or support sane remedies?

LETTER 373.

* St. James's, November 4th, 1776.
21 min. pt. 4 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—You will give the necessary directions for the appointment of Lord Powis to the Lieutenancy of the county of Montgomery; nothing can have been better planned, nor with more alacrity executed, than the taking of the city of New York, and I trust the rebell army will soon be dispersed.

The city of New York, taken as a whole, was decidedly hostile to Congress. Washington, being nearly enclosed by the British troops, evacuated that city on the 12th of September, leaving behind him all his artillery and stores. But General Howe had scarcely taken possession of New York when a dreadful fire broke out, proceeding apparently at the same moment from different quarters of the town. The Americans all but anticipated the conflagration of Moscow. Combustibles had been distributed, and incendiaries concealed, and a brisk wind on the night of the 20th of September aided these preparations. The fires broke out at midnight, when most of the citizens and troops were buried in sleep. By the combined exertions of the soldiers and sailors the flames were checked, but not until nearly a third part of the city was in ruins.

New York was regained; but its capture was neither "well "planned, nor executed with alacrity." General Howe frittered away time and men by needless attempts to carry the forts or batteries on Governor's Island and Paulus Hook, and the enemy's works in front of New York. They were not tenable a moment after the city was taken. Neither did Lord Howe show any "alacrity" in seconding his brother. Washington himself contributed to the victory of the British forces by exposing the half

of his forces on Long Island. They escaped because General Howe was supine. As it was, Washington after his good luck was in a very critical situation. In his front he had a superior force with a commanding fleet, and all the country around him was hostile to his cause. On Lord Howe's first appearance the people of Staten Island took the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, and joyfully offered to serve as volunteers. The people of Long Island were equally loyal; and on both sides the Hudson, in New Jersey as in New York, the anti-revolutionary party was numerous and active. Had the plan of operations been good, it is very probable that Washington and his army might have been forced to lay down their arms in Long Island.

LETTER 374.

**Kew, November 15th, 1776.
49 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I sincerely congratulate you on having [been] so little detained in the House of Commons this day; indeed I had learnt from Lord Weymouth that Charles Fox had declared at Arthur's last night that he should attend the business of the House this day, and either to-morrow or Sunday should set out for Paris, and not return till after the recess. I think therefore you cannot do better than bring as much forward during the time Parliament shall be assembled as can with propriety be done, as real business is never [so] well considered as when the attention of the House is not taken up by noisy declamations.

Charles Fox had very recently given his Majesty reason to wish for his protracted absence from Parliament.

"Oct 31. On Address. Charles Fox answered Lord G. Germaine "in one of his finest and most animated orations, and with severity "to the answered person. He made Lord North's conciliatory pro- "position to be read, which, he said, his Lordship seemed to have "forgotten; and he declared he thought it better to abandon "America than attempt to conquer it. Mr. Gibbon, author of the

" Roman History, a very good judge, and being on the Court side " an impartial one, told me he never heard a more masterly speech " than Fox's in his life; and he said he observed Thurlow and " Wedderburn, the Attorney and Solicitor General, complimenting " which should answer it, and at last both declining it." (Lord Holland, in 'Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox, edited by Lord John Russell,' vol. i. p. 148.)

This letter shows how rapidly Fox was rising in importance as an orator. The progress of his animosity against the King and his Ministers is shown in a letter of October 13, 1776, wherein he writes of the English victory at Brooklyn as "the terrible news " from Long Island," and urges the Rockingham Whigs above all to make it a point of honour "to support the American pretensions " in adversity as much as we did in their prosperity, and that we " shall never desert those who have acted *unsuccessfully* upon Whig " principles, while we continue to profess our admiration of those " who succeeded in the same principles in the year 1688," &c. ('Memoirs of Lord Rockingham,' vol. ii. p. 297; comp. id. p. 296, for an anecdote of Fox while yet a Tory. "The first evidence " of his conversion," says Lord Albemarle, "was his joining the " Whigs in their opposition to the Boston Port Bill, in 1774.")

For an account of Fox at Paris, see Mem. of C. J. Fox, p. 149. He did not make a favourable impression on Madame du Deffand.

Letter 375.

Kew, November 17th, 1776.
30 min. pt. 2 p.m.

Sir Guy Carleton gives sufficient reasons for his not earlier attempting to pass the Lakes; I never doubted that the Commission would give him some uneasiness; but the directions sent by Captain Le Maistre will fix the bounds of his command, consequently prevent any mischief that might have arose to the service from want of explanation.

I thoroughly approve of the exchange between the Bishop of Landaff and Doctor Douglass. Lord North may therefore take the necessary steps towards putting it into execution.

The King some weeks before had complained of Carleton's dilatoriness, and of his refusal to write a syllable to Lord George Germaine. It appears that letters had been received from him on the 25th of September, in which he had stated that he must lay aside his plan of crossing the Lakes until the following year. He was badly provided with men, and still worse with transports (bâteaux). He had been arrested in a series of successful operations, after the retreat of the insurgents from Canada, by the want of vessels to cope with the American flotilla and to command the Lakes. By extraordinary exertions, affording a striking contrast to the sluggishness of the other British commanders in this war, Carleton constructed a fleet of boats, schooners, floating batteries, &c., which swept the Lakes Champlain and St. George from end to end. Yet in Letter 378 we find him blamed for coldness and inactivity! Lord G. Germaine was too near the royal ear for Carleton's interest. (See 'Pict. Hist. of England, Geo. III.,' p. 279, for an account of Carleton's exertions at this time.)

Letter 376.

Queen's House, November 20th, 1776.
10 min. pt. M.

Lord North,—I have cancelled the warrant and signed the other. Mr. Gordon's letter is not very correct as to Canada news; but the health of G. Howe's army, the number of townsmen returning to New York, and the arrival of Light Dragoons, are very pleasant pieces of intelligence; and I agree with you that none of the Hessians were probably arrived on the 11th of October.

The Hessians under General Heister and Count Donop had arrived in August. They had been expected in June, the wind having been in their favour. But the first detachment of Brunswickers, in spite of Lord Suffolk's eagerness to despatch them in February, did not sail from England until the 4th of April, and the first division of the Hessians did not clear the British Channel until the 10th of May. The delay was owing to the want of preparation on

the part of the Admiralty. There was an insufficient supply of transports, and these badly fitted up.

The contractors were as usual attentive to their own interests. The bedding furnished by them was infamously scanty. The clothing supplied to the Brunswickers was old, purchased of slop-sellers, and vamped up for the moment; the shoes were "fine thin "dancing pumps," and the greater number of them too small for use.

On their arrival, plans, it is said at the instigation of Franklin, were promptly set on foot for their seduction. "A short address "was drawn up and translated into German, offering, in the name "of Congress, a tract of land to every Hessian soldier who should "abandon the ignominious service to which his sovereign had sold "him. Some of these addresses were printed on such paper as was "commonly used for tobacco at that time: the design being to put "up tobacco in them and distribute the packets among the Hessians. "Another address was prepared for circulation among the officers." The Hessians, however, appear to have remained true to their employers, thinking perhaps that plunder in the hand was preferable to land in the bush. See Parton's 'Life of Franklin,' vol. ii. p. 132.

LETTER 377.

Queen's House, November 21st, 1776.
10 min. pt. 9 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—The very poor figure made by Governor Johnston at the head of the Richmond party of proprietors at the East India House yesterday makes me think he and his party had best also absent themselves from that oratorical stage, and, if they have the desire of keeping up the practice of public speaking, enter themselves into the famous Society of Robin Hood.

Robin Hood Society.—In the middle of the eighteenth century debating societies sprang up amongst tradesmen, and one amongst the most remarkable of them was that called the *Robin Hood Society.* Cowper, in a letter to John Newton, May 5, 1783, writes,—"I have "formerly attended the Robin Hood Society, but those orators in "leathern aprons and woollen nightcaps never stooped so low for

" their rhetorical flowers." " At the Robin Hood Society," says the 'Connoisseur,' to which paper Cowper was a contributor, " I have " seen a tailor a Stoic, a shoemaker a Platonist, and a cook an " Epicurean." The whole of the last act of Foote's comedy, 'The Orators,' consists of a scene in the Robin Hood. See Campbell's 'Lives of the Chancellors,' vol. vi. p. 373; Forster's 'Life of Goldsmith,' vol. i. p. 310; Prior's 'Life of Burke,' p. 75; Buckle's 'Hist. of Civilisation in England,' vol. i. p. 394, for an account of this club, which, in spite of His Majesty's and the 'Connoisseur's' opinion, was far from being a discreditable one.

LETTER 378.

* Queen's House, December 13th, 1776.
10 min. pt. 9 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I have ever since you yesterday communicated what had been thrown out to Mr. Robinson been carefully weighing what probably will be mentioned to-morrow at the usual weekly dinner, the result of which I will as briefly as possible state to you.

That there is great prejudice, perhaps not unaccompanied with rancour, in a certain breast against Governor Carleton, is so manifest to whoever has heard the subject mentioned, that it would be idle to say more than that it is a fact. Perhaps Carleton may be too cold and not so active as might be wished, which may make it advisable to have the part of the Canadian army, which must attempt to join General Howe, led by a more enterprising commander; but should the proposal be to recall Carleton from his Government or censure his conduct, that would be cruel, and the exigency cannot authorise it. What I would therefore suggest is to let all the invections [sic] against him be thrown out to-morrow, without other answer than that it is impossible to send out any orders at present; that consequently there is time for maturely considering what is right to be done;

that when all the members of the Cabinet are in town the subject shall be again resumed.

I have also been considering of the General's application for 4000 men as an addition to his force, which I do not think quite unreasonable, for in the present posture of affairs 3000 men at least must be left in Canada; part of the army must proceed on the lakes to Ticonderoga, and another by the Mohawk river; they having a sufficient force this spring will undoubtedly greatly shorten the business. Foreigners are the only forces we can raise, and at a reasonable charge, for they do not cause an additional half-pay when the business shall be compleated; besides, the 2000 Highlanders raised last winter totally has defeated the usual recruiting of the regiments in Scotland.

Burgoyne may command the corps to be sent from Canada to Albany, and Phillips must remain with Carleton in Canada.

These hints I have set down merely as heads for you to consider on previous to the attack of to-morrow.

Parliament had adjourned for the holidays on the 3rd of this month.

General Burgoyne arrived from Quebec on the 9th. He brought news that Carleton had recrossed the lakes, abandoned Crown Point, and not attempted Ticonderoga, where Major Gates was stationed with 12,000 men. His retreat may possibly have been the cause of the King's insinuating coldness and inactivity in one of his most efficient officers. "The rancour" was in the "breast" of Lord George Germaine. Burgoyne was not in favour at this moment. The King scarcely spoke to him, and he was obliged to crave for an audience.

The General who applied for "4000 men in addition to his force" is Howe, who on the 13th of the preceding October was gazetted as "Sir William Howe, Major-General of His Majesty's forces, and "General of His Majesty's forces in North America, created a "Knight of the Bath in the room of Lord Onslow deceased."

Letter 379.

*Queen's House, December 13th, 1776.
30 min. pt. 5 p.m.

Lord North,—After divine service the Bishop of London came to acquaint me of the death of the Archbishop of York, and at the same time to decline accepting that dignity; but in a very handsome manner he at the same time recommended his son-in-law, Mr. Hamilton, for some future mark of favour. You may therefore acquaint the Bishop of Chester that he is to be appointed Archbishop of York, and that he may kiss hands next Wednesday. If you had attended at St. James's Chappel you would have been as anxious as I and the Archbishop of Canterbury are for seeing Doctor Porteous [sic] on the Bench. He will be an ample match in any debate in the House of Lords in answering the Bishop of Peterborough. Doctor Bagot to be Dean of Christ Church. Doctor Ross may be a proper person when another Cambridge vacancy happens, but cannot be put in competition with Porteous.

Died December 10,* His Grace the Hon. and Most Reverend Dr. Drummond, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, Archbishop of York and Lord High Almoner to the King. He had been Bishop of St. Asaph 1748, of Salisbury, and soon afterwards Archbishop of York in 1761, in which year he preached the Coronation Sermon. Walpole describes him as a "sensible worldly man, but much ad-

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* "The Fast Sermon of Dr. Porteus "let loose all the zeal of the clergy, "and contributed to raise the infatuation of England against America. "Indeed it was no wonder, for the "Court had now at their devotion the "three great bodies of the clergy, the "army, and the law. A sermon on "the Fast, against all the principles of "the Revolution, 1688, was preached "and licensed at Oxford by Dr. Miles "Cooper, late President of the College "at New York. Lord Mansfield encouraged writings full of all the old exploded nonsense of passive obedience "and non-resistance. The conversation "of many courtiers was openly in favour "of arbitrary power." 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 91.

" dicted to his bottle." The late preceptor of the two elder princes (see Letter 359), Dr. Markham, was the *Bishop of Chester*. The archbishopric had been offered in the first instance to the *Bishop of London*, Dr. Terrick, who declined it on a plea of bad health. Dr. Porteus had on this very day, December 13, preached a most loyal sermon on the appointed fast, in which he denounced rebellion and foretold a happy issue to the British warfare in America. The new Bishop of Chester was loyal in grain. He had, sixteen years earlier, deplored the death of George II. in the following strains:—

" While at his feet expiring Faction lay,
" No contest left but who should best obey:
" Saw in his offspring all himself renewed;
" The same fair path of glory still pursued:
" Saw to young George Augusta's care impart
" Whate'er could raise and humanize the heart:
" Blend all his grandsire's virtues with his own,
" And form their mingled radiance for his throne.
" No farther blessing could on earth be given—
" The next degree of happiness was—heaven!"

The *Bishop of Peterborough* was Dr. John Hinchcliffe, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. *Dr. Ross*, one of His Majesty's chaplains, and Prebendary of Durham, became in due time, *i. e.* in 1777–8, Bishop of Exeter. " Dr. Lewis Bagot to be Dean of Christchurch, " Oxford, in the room of Dr. Markham." 'London Gazette,' December.

Letter 380.

Queen's House, December 17th, 1776.
44 min. pt. 4 p m.

Lord North,—I have the satisfaction of acquainting you that I have this instant received from Lord Sandwich an account that Captain Pownall, of the 'Blonde,' on his return from Canada met the 'Active,' Captain Williams, off of Newfoundland, who left New York on the 14th of Nov., who acquainted him that the rebels had been forced to quit Kingsbridge, that they have no

other post in the province of New York except Fort Washington, which Gen. Howe was preparing to attack. Pownall sends this on his arrival at Plymouth: as the 'Active' is a slow sailer, she will not arrive within a couple of days. Lord Sandwich has sent for another Captain who has brought letters from Lord Howe, but they referr to those sent by the 'Active,' and do not mention any public events.

The American army, after the evacuation of New York, was strongly posted at Haarlem and Kingsbridge, September 20th—October 11th. Sir William Howe, not deeming it prudent to attack them in front, resolved to place himself in their rear, and either compel them to abandon their position or to surround them. The plan was better conceived than it was executed. On the 12th of October he passed up the Sound with the greater part of his force, and landed on Frog's Point near the town of West Chester. He was supported by a powerful fleet, and there was every promise of the war coming to an end—at least for a time. Washington, however, perceived the danger of his position, and General Lee confirmed him in his purpose of withdrawing from York Island and occupying the heights stretching from Kingsbridge to White Plains. The English by occupying Frog's Island had in fact shut themselves up in a peninsula with an almost impassable isthmus, and time was lost in extricating themselves from it. On the 28th of October Howe obtained some advantage, but he again lost two days in waiting for reinforcements, and in the mean while the enemy had thrown up new earthworks. On the 31st the weather in the morning was stormy, and, though the afternoon was fine, the General put off fighting until the morrow. On the morrow the Americans had retreated twelve miles in the rear of Kingsbridge and White Plains, and secured an almost inaccessible post behind the river Croton. The English General seems to have aspired to the fame of Fabius Maximus, and he fairly earned the name of *Cunctator*, but he neither *restored* nor in any way promoted the success of the British arms by his *delays*.

Fort Washington. On the 29th of December the news arrived in England of the surrender of Fort Washington with 2700 prisoners to Sir William Howe. When York Island was abandoned by the insurgents, it was thought expedient to leave in it one position at least from which the British troops in the island might be annoyed.

and the navigation of Hudson's or North River obstructed. A garrison accordingly was left under the command of Colonel Magaw in Fort Washington, which was situated on the Hudson, three miles south of Kingsbridge, on very high, steep, and rugged ground. The position was well chosen; but the advantages of it were rendered nugatory, for the British ships passed up the Hudson without obstruction either from the vessels sunk in its channel or from the fire of Fort Washington or Fort Lee on the Jersey shore. Sir William, finding it bootless to pursue the retreating Americans behind the river Croton, returned with his whole army to attack this fort. Had Washington's opinion been followed, Fort Washington would have been evacuated: General Greene however thought differently, trusted to its strong situation, reinforced the garrison, and on the 15th of November was compelled to surrender. The English suffered severely, especially in their Hessian contingent. Lord Percy had a horse shot under him as he stood by Sir William Howe. It is said that the prisoners taken in Fort Washington petitioned "not to be exchanged," since an exchange would be more to the advantage of the King than of Congress. Howe called for yet more recruits, and negotiations were opened for 10,000 men from Wirtemberg and other German markets.

LETTER 381.

Queen's House, Dec. 19th, 1776.
28 min. pt. 11 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—The Primate[a] is so very respectable a character, and of so good a family, I cannot see the smallest objection to gratifying him in his request. His applying to a Lord-Lieutenant just before the close of his commission is of a piece with his conduct; it shews no political views [or] biass [sic] on the occasion, but a wish of having a mark of approbation.

I desire you will appoint Dr. Porteous to attend at St. James's to-morrow; that you will send to the

[a] Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh, created Lord Rokeby of Armagh in 1777. He had been translated from Kildare in 1765.

Archbishop also concerning the living of Lambeth, which ought to be in hands agreable to him; and that you will not omit in the course of this day to write an amiable letter to Lord Weymouth acquainting [him] that the very shining tallents possessed by Dr. Porteous, added to the very proper conduct held by him on the attempts to alter the Liturgy, made me unable to think of any from Cambridge till he is on the Bench, but that the next from that University shall be Dr. Ross. Pray do not omit writing to Lord Weymouth, for since his return to ministerial office I see him ever desirous of coinciding with you, and I have ever found a little kindness not lost on him.

The very proper conduct held by Dr. Porteus was displayed in 1773, at the time he was Dean of the Chapel Royal. It is thus described in his own words: "At the close of the year 1772, and "the beginning of the next, an attempt was made by myself, and a "few other clergymen, among whom were Mr. Francis Wollaston, "Dr. Percy, now Bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Yorke, now Bishop of "Ely, to induce the bishops to promote a review of the Liturgy "and Articles, in order to amend in both, but particularly in the "latter, those parts which all reasonable persons agreed stood in "need of amendment. This plan was not in the smallest degree "connected with the petitioners at the Feathers Tavern, but, on "the contrary, was meant to counteract that and all other extrava-"gant projects; to strengthen and confirm our ecclesiastical estab-"lishment; to repel the attacks which were at that time continually "made upon it by its avowed enemies; to render the 17th Article, "on Predestination and Election, more clear and perspicuous, and "less liable to be wrested by our adversaries to a Calvinistic sense, "which has been so unjustly affixed to it; to improve true Christian "piety amongst those of our own communion; and to diminish "schism and separation by bringing over to the national Church "all the moderate and well-disposed of other persuasions. On these "grounds, we applied, in a respectful manner, to Archbishop Corn-"wallis, requesting him to signify our wishes (which we conceived "to be the wishes of a very large proportion both of the clergy and "the laity) to the rest of the bishops, that everything might be

" done, which could be *prudently* and *safely* done, to promote these " important and salutary purposes. The answer given by the Arch- " bishop, February 11, 1773, was in these words: 'I have consulted " severally my brethren the bishops, and it is the opinion of the " Bench in general, that nothing can in prudence be done in the " matter that has been submitted to our consideration.'"

LETTER 382.

Queen's House, Jan. 1st, 1777.
8 min. pt. M.

LORD NORTH,—I kept the box untill this morning from an idea it would be more convenient to you to receive it in town. It is highly unpleasant to see the contractors have continued delivering such bad biscuit and flour[a] after the repeated directions given by the Board of Treasury; but I trust Sir William Howe is now in possession of so extensive a country that he will not require to be entirely provided from Europe; I have seen a private letter from the General that his posts will extend from the river Delawarr to Rhode Island, consequently my opinion seems well grounded.

Sir William Howe, after clearing York Island of the insurgents, distributed his army in winter quarters along an extended line of eighty miles from the Delaware to the Hakensack. But he was still greatly in want of provision from Europe. Robert Morris

[a] In 1777 Lord North's own Solicitor-General wrote, respecting our army in America, to a confidential friend,— " The peculation in every profitable " branch of the service is represented " to be enormous; and, as usual, it is " attended with a shocking neglect of " every comfort to the troops. The " hospitals are pest-houses, and the pro- " visions served out are poison; those " that are to be bought are sold at the " highest prices of a monopoly."
Cited by Lord Mahon, vi. p. 140, from 'Letter to William Eden,' printed from the MS., in Lord Campbell's 'Lives of the Chancellors,' vol. vi. p. 118.

on the 28th of March in this year writes to the American Envoys at Paris that—

"General Howe's army in the Jerseys still remains inactive and "greatly distressed for want of forage and fresh provisions, which "they cannot obtain, as our army is posted all around them, has "removed most of the hay, corn, and provisions that were near "Brunswick, and never suffers a foraging party of the enemy "to stir out without attacking it; and though the enemy very "frequently come out, as they suppose, strong enough to drive our "people from their posts, yet it has always happened the reverse, "for they are constantly driven back into Brunswick, with con-"siderable loss of men, horses, waggons, &c. Their situation "certainly is disagreeable, and for this and other reasons I cannot "think they will be content with it much longer, especially as "desertion is become frequent amongst their best British troops, the "Grenadiers, more or less of whom come over to us every week."[a] So it is written: but it seems strange that the "British Grenadiers" can have found attractions in the insurgent camp at this time!

Letter 383.

Queen's House, Jan. 20th, 1777.
10 min. pt. 5 p.m.

Lord North,—I return the English and Irish warrants, having signed them; at the same time cannot avoid conveying the joy I feel that the fire at Bristol hath destroyed but four houses.

As Lord Harcourt will be satisfied if he receives an ostensible letter concerning the Earldoms, I desire you will immediately acquaint Lord Weymouth that the warrants be in consequence prepared.

Lord Suffolk had communicated to me the proposed advertisement for to-morrow's Gazette, which I most cordially approve of.

[a] The letter from which this extract is made was kindly communicated to me by Mr. George Archdale, the editor of 'The Journal and Correspondence of William Lord Auckland.'

An express arrived on this day that Bristol was in flames. The King says that "but four houses," other accounts that six were burnt. Panic, for a few days, exaggerated the damage done; the highest amount of the loss was about 8000*l.*

There was indeed much cause for panic at the moment, for the fire at Bristol, like the fire at the Rope-house in Portsmouth Dockyard on the 7th of the preceding December, was the work of "John the Painter." "At Bristol," says Lord Mahon, vi. p. 142, after describing John's incendiary attempts at Portsmouth, "the "villain failed in an attempt to set fire to some vessels, and found "so strict a watch kept on them afterwards that he was obliged "to change his plan of operations. He succeeded in setting fire to "some warehouses which stood upon the quay, close upon a crowded "mass of shipping; and six or seven of these houses were consumed, "while the shipping narrowly escaped. In another house of the "same city fresh combustibles were found, and there was a general "panic, but great variety of surmises. The one party ascribed "these things to American and Republican principles in the other; "while in the party thus impugned the more violent men declared "themselves fully convinced that these were malicious acts or "inventions of the Tories, merely for the purpose of calumniating "and blackening their adversaries."

Horace Walpole was one of those who at first regarded the fire at Bristol as an accident, or at least very uncertain as to its cause. "The Court party," he says, "at Bristol had with great difficulty "procured an address against the Americans, and some thought "the opposite party, which was very numerous, had done this in "revenge. The Court endeavoured to make it thought an American "plot (just as they had laboured to instil the belief of Sayre's plot, "exactly, too, before the meeting of Parliament). They combined "the fire at Bristol with a late attempt of the same kind at "Portsmouth, and did spread a great panic, though for very "few days." 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 93.

All doubts on the subject were removed by John Aitken's (The Painter) confession the day after his trial early in the following March. He owned his incendiary attempts at Portsmouth, at Plymouth, and at *Bristol*. His whole confession is reported in Howell's 'State Trials,' xx. p. 1365.

The Earldoms. "Jan. 28. The King ordered Letters Patent to be "passed under the Great Seal of Ireland for grants of the dignities "following:—

"Francis Lord Viscount Orwell and his heirs male, by the title "of Earl of Shipbrooke, of Newry, co. Down, in that kingdom:

"John Lord Viscount Aldborough, by the title of Viscount

" Amiens and Aldborough, of the palatinate of Upper Ormond: and

" William Henry Lord Viscount Clermont, by the title of Earl " Clermont, of Clermont, co. Louth." 'Gazette,' Jan. 29.

LETTER 384.

Queen's House, Feb. 10th, 1777.
30 min. pt. 8 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am much pleased at finding the opposition to the Bill for securing and detaining Persons committed for Acts of High Treason in North America and on the High Seas hath met with such faint support, and that the majority amounted to 152, which I should hope will prevent your meeting with much trouble in the different stages of this Bill.

" The first business which occasioned any debate after the recess " was a Bill brought in by the Minister for enabling the King to " 'detain and secure persons charged with or suspected of high " treason committed in North America or on the high seas, or of " piracy.' By this law magistrates were empowered to commit " such persons to any place appointed by the King under his sign " manual, and they were to be detained, and not brought to trial, " or admitted to bail, without an order from the Privy Council. The " progress of this Bill was contested with a warmth and pertinacity " proportioned to the magnitude of its objects and the importance " of the Habeas Corpus, that inestimable privilege, which it was " framed to suspend." ('Parl. Hist.,' xix. pp. 9–53; Adolphus, ii. p. 408; Lord Mahon, vi. p. 141; 'Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 154–5.) "Fox," says Mr. Massey (vol. ii. p. 229), "resumed his " attendance in Parliament soon after the Christmas recess, and " vigorously opposed Lord North's Bill for the suspension of the " Habeas Corpus Act, so far as regarded persons charged with high " treason in North America."

The motion for committing the Bill was carried by 195 to 43. In the Lords no opposition was made; a protest in four articles, signed by the Earl of Abingdon only, was entered on the Journals. The Bill was read a third time on the 17th of February.

Letter 385.

Queen's House, Feb. 13th, 1777.
44 min. pt. M.

Lord North,—If the Duke of Leinster can be pleased with a seat at the Irish Privy Council, it is very proper to gratify him; besides, the appearance will be construed into his intention of supporting the new Lord Lieutenant.

The Duke of Leinster had been one of the leaders of Opposition in the Irish House of Peers (see Letter 215). The new Lord-Lieutenant is "John Earl of Buckinghamshire—Jan. 25."

Letter 386.

Queen's House, Feb. 17th, 1777.
50 min. pt. 10 p.m.

Lord North,—When gentlemen could bring themselves to oppose so natural a proposition as the enabling the detaining and securing persons charged with or suspected of high treason in America or on the high seas, it is highly agreable that they have made so poor a figure. I perceive in favour of the Bill two new champions.

Letter 387.

* Queen's House, Feb. 24th, 1777.
50 min. pt. 5 p.m.

Lord North,—I am sorry to find your cold is encreased, and I strongly recommend Abstinence and Water as the ablest and safest physicians.

The accounts from America are most comfortable. The surprize and want of spirit of the Hessian officers as well as soldiers at Trenton is not much to their credit, and will undoubtedly rather elate the rebels, who till then were in a state of the greatest despondency. I wish Sir W. Howe had placed none but British troops in the outposts; but I am certain by a letter I have seen from Lord Cornwallis that the rebells will soon have sufficient reason to fall into the former dejection.

Lord George Germaine will to-morrow propose Gen. Clinton for Canada, and Burgoyne to join Howe. I thoroughly approve of this; he wants [Carleton ?[a]] to be recalled, but I have thrown cold water on that, and Ld. Suffolk and Ld. Gower will oppose it at your meeting.

Either full accounts of the Trenton affair had not yet reached England, or his Majesty was easily *comforted* under a serious reverse. We have already seen how expensive the Hessian auxiliaries were (see note to Letter 335), and now nine hundred of them were carried off at one swoop.

No further movement of any importance on either side was looked for in the last month of the year 1776, and none certainly would have been likely had Sir William Howe commanded the insurgents. Washington however, though commanding far inferior troops, had a keener vision of possibilities than his antagonist. A chain of posts, of which Trenton was the centre, extended along the English side of the Delaware, nearly opposite the American head-quarters. This position, the nearest to the enemy, was left unprovided with outworks, and in the charge of the German mercenaries. On the night of Christmas-day two thousand four hundred Americans with artillery were conveyed across the river, notwithstanding the ice which obstructed the stream, and at dawn on the 26th of December this force in two divisions, under a driving storm of snow and hail, advanced upon Trenton. The outposts were quickly driven in.

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[a] The word in the original is illegible.

After a short resistance, during which their commander had been mortally wounded, the Germans, to the number of nine hundred, laid down their arms. By this well-executed movement the loss of Fort Washington was retrieved, a new spirit infused into the insurgents, and only two lives on their side were lost.

The capture of the mercenaries was the more acceptable, not merely because their prowess as soldiers had been an object of dread to the raw American militia, but also on account of the licence and rapine in which they, and more especially the Hessians, had indulged. We get a glimpse of these hirelings from John Adams, in his account of the journey of himself, Franklin, and Edward Rutledge from Philadelphia to the place of conference with Lord Howe, Amboy. "We walked up to the house," he says, "between "lines of guards of grenadiers, looking fierce as ten Furies, making "all the grimaces and gestures, and motions of their muskets with "bayonets fixed, which, I suppose, military etiquette requires, but "which we neither understood nor regarded."

Sir William Howe's imprudence can hardly be paralleled in the annals of war. He extends his line, at the very time he was calling for more men from England, over a space of eighty miles. He leaves the centre of that line at Trenton, Bordenton, White Horse, and Burlington weakly defended, and provides against surprise neither redoubt nor intrenchment. The posts least exposed he strengthened in proportion to their distance from the enemy. He intrusted to foreigners, unacquainted for the most part with the English language, and consequently the less capable of obtaining intelligence of any hostile movement, the worst guarded portions of his line.

Mr. Adolphus (ii. p. 385) and Lord Mahon (vi. p. 130) ascribe to General Arnold the merit of the surprise of Trenton. Had they forgotten that Washington had in his youth distinguished himself in a war of posts, or that shortly after the affair at Trenton (3rd Jan. 1777) he surprised Princeton? In general the noble historian is fair to Washington: perhaps Arnold's intended services to Great Britain may, in this instance, have biassed him.

LETTER 388.

* Queen's House, March 21st, 1777.

LORD NORTH,—It is with infinite satisfaction that I find myself now enabled to express to you, my dear Lord,

the pleasure that arises to my mind from finding you are daily recovering the bad effects of your late severe illness; but I cannot avoid on this occasion reminding you of the strong injunction I have laid on Lord Guildford to keep you at Bushy till the end of the Easter holydays; it is impossible, if you come to town, but that people will find their way into your house, and the fatigue of much conversation will retard your regaining strength. You may depend on my writing whenever anything material arises, and should it require farther explanation I will come to Bushy.

I now perfectly comprehend your idea concerning the utility of some plan being formed how, with the small military force in this island and the assistance of the militia, proper measures of defence might be speedily taken, in case of an invasion, and will have this properly attended to; but the account yesterday of the death of the King of Portugal, the total end of M. de Pomball's influence, the great timidity of the new Queen and bigotry of her husband, make me flatter myself that I may now be able to prevent the war between that kingdom and Spain.

I shall not detain you by any remarks on the embassy of Mr. Forth,[a] but fully approve of what you have said on the subject to Lord Suffolk.

As you represent Mr. John Carver as a gentleman of fair character and considerable merit, his being recommended by Lord Dudley is a good additional reason for your proposing him to me for the vacant stall in the Chapter of Worcester; I desire you will therefore order the proper warrants for this appointment to be prepared.

[a] Forth was an Irishman, and is said to have been employed by Lord Mansfield as his agent in Paris.

Lord North's illness was of a very dangerous nature. He was much reduced in size, perhaps by the royal recipe, "abstinence and "water" (see preceding letter). His good humour never forsook him. His physician, Dr. Warren, asking "what his Lordship felt?" he replied, "What I have not felt a long while—my own ribs." Some good-natured friends of the portly Minister gave out that he kept the house because he was afraid of bringing the King's debts before Parliament.

Invasion. The English Government were aware of the ill-feeling of France to this country, and of the effect that Franklin's presence in Paris—he arrived in that city on the 21st of the preceding December — might produce on the Ministry of Maurepas. The French people manifested the greatest interest in the slightest actions of the septuagenarian "philosopher and patriot," as he was esteemed throughout Europe. On the 22nd of December Madame du Deffand communicates to Horace Walpole Franklin's arrival in Paris as the great event of the day.

"The new Queen" of Portugal is Maria I. Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, prime-minister, had been in office since 1750. He had reformed the army and the navy, expelled the Jesuits from Court (1759), revoked grants of Crown property to ecclesiastical bodies, and in some degree regenerated the kingdom. Maria I. was however his foe, and governed by priests; and nearly all Pombal's reforms fell with him. For an account of his reforms, see Wraxall's 'Memoirs,' vol. i. p. 66–9.

Peace was not finally established between Spain and Portugal until the following year—"Pacification of St. Ildefonso"—when their disputes about their American boundaries were settled. On the 16th of this month (March) news arrived in England that the Portuguese had again attacked the Spanish settlements in America.

"28th March. The Rev. John Carver preferred to a canon or "prebendary of Worcester, *vice* Dr. James Stillingfleet, deceased." (Gazette.)

Letter 389.

* Kew, March 29th, 1777.
50 min. pt. 5 p.m.

The two papers drawn up, the one in answer to Mr. de Maurepas' paper, the other by way of instruction to

Mr. Forth, are very proper. Lord Suffolk communicated the papers brought by Mr. Forth the day he received them from Lord North. I think Lord North judges very properly in giving but 1000*l.* to Mr. Forth, as that gentleman will certainly expect more before his commission is at an end; therefore Lord North will do well to explain to him that this is an earnest of what he may expect if he can be of essential service; for in truth, what he has as yet done is more than nothing, but does not amount to much. Lieut.-Col. Smith's observations shew Forth to be indiscreet, but I agree with Lord North in thinking he is fair in the business now before us.

Lord North will give directions for having the presentations to the two livings prepared agreable to the recommendations he has made.

I am glad to find Lord North is so much recovered, bnt strongly recommend his remaining the next week at Bushy, which will, I trust, thoroughly restore his strength.

Letter 390.

* Kew, March 31st, 1777.
55 min. pt. 5 p.m.

Lord North,—I take this method of returning the papers you sent unto me on Saturday evening; at the same time apprise you that the Bishop of London died this morning about five. His bishopric requires abilities, temper, and dignity in its possessor. I therefore desire you will write to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and have his opinion which of the bishops will with the greatest propriety fill the vacant see. Of course you will recommend one educated at Oxford for the bishop-

rick that will become vacant by translation. All I wish is that it may be a man of learning and of an exemplary life. I have no particular person in view. Another bishoprick will soon become vacant. The Bishop of Exeter has received no benefit by Bath water, and is now removed to Bristol, but with little hopes of recovery. The deanery of Windsor will either suit the Bishop of Chichester or that of Landaff. It ought undoubtedly to be filled by a gentleman. King George I. would not appoint the late Dean Booth untill he was proved to be of the Delamerre [*sic*] family.

Died the Bishop of London, Dr. Terrick, of a disorder of the bowels. Dr. Lowth, Bishop of Oxford, succeeded him, April 15, and Dr. Butler became Bishop of Oxford. The latter had looked for the Metropolitan See when Dr. Lowth was appointed to it; but *his* Fast Sermon did not come up to the required standard of political orthodoxy at this juncture. Lowth was not only one of the most learned, but also one of the wittiest men of the age, as Warburton more than once found to his cost. The preceptor of the princes, Bishop Hurd, Warburton's jackal, is uniformly unjust to Lowth.

The Bishop of Exeter, the Hon. Dr. Frederick Keppel, Dean of Windsor and Wolverhampton, Registrar of the Order of the Garter, and uncle to the Earl of Albemarle, died on the 27th of December in this year.

Letter 391.

* Kew, April 2nd, 1777.
16 min. pt. 9 p.m.

Lord North,—I am thoroughly convinced that the tallents of the Bishop of Oxford point him out as the most fit on the Bench for the vacant see of London. I therefore empower you to make the offer; it will do credit; and I hope the Bishop is so far recovered that he may accept. If he should decline, I do not object to its

being offered to the Bishop of Bath and Wells,[a] though I cannot look on them as men of equal qualifications. As you seem to wish for the placing Dr. Butler on the Bench, I consent to his having Oxford or St. David's, and desire you will have the subsequent arrangements ready when the capital prizes are accepted. By your not mentioning your own health, I trust this cold east wind has not done you disservice, though it can benefit nothing but the passages of the troops to America.

LETTER 392.

Kew, April 5th, 1777.
39 min. pt. 4 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am much pleased at the Bishop of Oxford's acceptance of the Bishoprick of London. I desire you will send directions to the Secretary of State's office for the Congé d'Elire and recommendatory letter of the Bishop of Oxford to be immediately prepared, and that you will direct the Bishop to kiss hands on Wednesday next, which will be my first levee. Doctor Butler cannot have any competitor for the Bishoprick of Oxford, as he is recommended by you; he may also attend the same day. You will think of a proper person for the valuable Prebendary of Durham,[b] as also for any other preferments that these promotions will vacat. By not hearing you mention your health I trust it improves.

P.S. After my levee yesterday M.-Gen. Mackay came to ask my leave to offer his services to the East India Company on the resignation of Monson. If he

[a] Dr. Charles Moss, translated from St. David's, died in 1802, aged 91 years.
[b] The Rev. Dr. Kaye was appointed.

should meet with success, I can answer for his tallents, and believe he will draw well with Clavering.

Letter 393.

Queen's House, April 9th, 1777.
41 min. pt. 11 a.m.

Lord North,—The letters which I return on the late transactions at Fort St. George very clear [ly] convince me that the reappointment of Lord Pigott, if effected, must be the cause of much mischief; but I still hope he will be sent off for Europe. Sir Rbt. Fletcher appears with his usual inclination to disputes.

On the 31st of March the proprietors of India stock voted by a great majority to recommend to the Court of Directors to restore Lord Pigot. In the Court the recommendation was carried only by the chairman's casting vote. The matter was again canvassed on the 14th of April, when the Directors, being, as before, divided in opinion, eleven to eleven, drew lots, as directed by their Charter on such occasions, and chance decided in Lord Pigot's favour; and on the 9th of May the proprietors voted the recall of Lord Pigot! *Sir Robert Fletcher* was Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the Presidency of Madras.

The story of Lord Pigot may be read in Mill's 'Hist. of British India,' vol. iv. pp. 126–139, and is well abridged by Mr. Hughes, 'Hist. of England,' vol. ii. p. 307–10. I borrow the following note from H. Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 104:—

"The gallant and unfortunate Pigot was the able defender of "Madras against Lally, 1759. He was also a zealous servant of the "Company in protecting its interests against the encroachments of "the Crown. Governor Pigot was raised to the Irish peerage pre- "vious to his going out to India a second time as Governor of "Madras. The arrest of Lord Pigot was at once a curious and a "singular circumstance. The Nabob of the Carnatic had illegally "deposed the Rajah of Tanjore, who was restored by Lord Pigot. "The notorious Paul Benfield claimed a large portion of the Rajah's "revenue, which he alleged had been assigned to him by the Nabob,

" in satisfaction of a debt. There was no truth in the assertion, nor " justice in assuming that the Rajah's revenue was to pay the Nabob's " debts. The Madras Council, however, after various contradictory " decisions, allowed the validity of Benfield's claim; and as Lord " Pigot continued his opposition, a majority of the Council arrested " him through a Colonel Stuart. Pigot died in the eighth month of " his captivity of a broken heart. His persecutors only suffered by " a nominal fine of 1000*l.*, but Benfield's claims were never realised. " Lord Pigot's title became extinct in 1783.—D."

LETTER 394.

* Queen's House, April 20th, 1777.
59 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—You cannot be surprised at the pleasure I feel at the zealous support of so very great a majority of the House of Commons to a proposition personally regarding me, as it can have been occasioned by no other object but the opinion of the rectitude of my intentions, and I sincerely believe a real approbation of my conduct in having placed the management of the public affairs in that House in the most able and honest hands. Indeed I am convinced that, except a desperate faction, there would not be on that subject scarce a dissentient voice. I wish just to hear how you find yourself after the fatigue of so long a debate.

On the 9th of April Lorth North, still suffering from the effects of recent illness, delivered a message from the Throne in which much concern was expressed by the King at being compelled to acquaint his faithful Commons that he was deeply in debt. Eight years before he had made a similar complaint of the insufficiency of the Civil List to meet the demands of the Household and Civil Government. Some part of his expenses, as Lord North explained, might be ascribed to the American war. It was impossible for His Majesty to hear of his loyal subjects stripped of their property.

driven from their homes, without extending to them the bounty of the Crown. Relief of American loyalists, however, was by no means an important item in the accounts. The Royal Household was badly regulated, profusion and extortion pervaded it; the frugal habits of the King and his family were not imitated by his attendants, while the number of unnecessary offices, not abolished until 1782, rendered it next to impossible to prevent the recurrence of insolvency.

The application for a grant of money was inevitable but highly unseasonable. Eight millions were being absorbed by the war with the colonies, and now the Minister came forward with another demand on the public purse. The application was coupled in some minds with a suspicion that neither alms to American Tories, nor waste in the Household, nor needless and frivolous places at Court, would quite account for the impecuniosity of the Sovereign. The *ulcus exedens* it was thought lay deeper.

Lord Mahon, vi. p. 139, says, "The profusion and extortion which "prevailed in the Royal Household were wholly independent of the "will and example of the Sovereign; and for their amendment "needed no less than Burke's great measure of Economical Reform." I do not quite understand this plea: I think Mr. Massey, vol. ii. pp. 230–4, comes nearer to the root of the deficit. He says:—

"It will be recollected that George the Third at his accession had "surrendered the hereditary revenues of the Crown, and in lieu "thereof had received 800,000*l.* a year for life. Out of this ample "revenue some of the public services were to be provided for; but "after all these charges were defrayed there was sufficient for the "maintenance of the Crown in becoming dignity and splendour. "Yet Lord North had to ask Parliament for 600,000*l.* for the liqui-"dation of pressing demands, and for an addition to the Civil List "of 100,000*l.* a year to redress the difference between income and "outlay."

The balance-sheet was appalling. "Some of the tradesmen who "supplied the palaces with common necessaries were reduced to "great straits for want of their money. Many had not been paid "for years: the coal-merchant dunned in vain for his bill, amounting "to 6000*l.*[a] The menial servants were six quarters in arrear. No "vouchers were produced, no audit-books were examined, and, "beyond certain fixed salaries of public functionaries, Parliament "had no knowledge either of the purposes to which the vast surplus

[a] Charles Knight, in his 'Passages in the Life of a Working Man,' says, that for wax candles alone the annual bill amounted to 10,000*l.*!

" of the fund had been applied, or of the purposes for which the new " grants were required."

About the waste there was no doubt. A modern Suetonius would have had to record that twenty-three tables were kept, or at least charged, for the legion that preyed upon the Royal Household. " The royal establishment," Mr. Massey proceeds, " swarmed with " officers for whom it was difficult to find names;[a] and all these " functionaries drew their salaries regularly, while the King's grocers " and footmen remained unpaid."

Still neither paid salaries, nor wages due, nor petty placemen, would account for the melancholy fact that the royal purse was a sacculus plenus aranearum. It was gravely suspected that no inconsiderable portion of the debt had been incurred in Parliamentary corruption, or in the purchase of votes at elections. " A sum equi- " valent to nearly the whole amount of debt for which Parliament " was required to provide had been expended in secret service since " 1769. Of this sum 285,000*l.* had been dispensed by the Secretary " of the Treasury [Martin], and at the same time the Pension List " had been increased to an enormous amount."

On the 16th of April, on the adjournment for taking the Message into consideration by the Committee of Supply, Lord John Cavendish moved that the order of reference of the 9th should be discharged. The object of this motion was to substitute a Committee of the whole House for a Committee of Supply. The debate lasted till past 10 o'clock at night, when the motion was rejected by the large majority of which the King writes with " pleasure," 167; 281 to 114 of the " desperate faction." The House, being then resolved into a Committee of Supply, passed two resolutions to the following purport:— 1. " That the sum of 618,340*l.* should be granted to His Majesty to " enable him to pay the debts incurred by the expenses of his House- " hold and of his Civil Government on the 5th of January last." 2. " That the sum of 100,000*l.* a year be granted as a further pro- " vision for the better support of His Majesty's Household and of " the honour and dignity of his Crown."[b] A very good account of these debates is given in the 'Ann. Register,' xx. pp. 72–88. On the 16th Charles Fox, on Lord J. Cavendish's motion for inquiring into accounts relating to the King's debts, " made a speech that even the " courtiers allowed to be one of his finest orations;" and on the 18th

[a] Among these " satellites aulæ " was the turnspit of His Majesty's kitchen: not a quadruped, " O lector benevole," but a biped, who was, moreover, a Member of Parliament!

[b] Charles Fox pertinently asked Lord North, if the additional 100,000*l.* would be sufficient without coming for more? As prudently Lord North replied that he thought it might till the Prince of Wales should be grown up.

Lord North made a good speech in answer to Fox. 'Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. ii. p. 155. Comp. 'Last Journals of H. Walpole,' vol. ii. pp. 110–112; Adolphus,' vol. ii. pp. 418–424; Hughes's 'Hist. of England,' vol. ii. pp. 276–280.

Letter 395.

Queen's House, May 9th, 1777.
15 min. pt. 3 p.m.

My dear Lord,—I am much hurt at hearing that the attendance this week has brought on a complaint which, from the mention of it, I hope will prove salutary, though at the time inconvenient. I should hope there will be little difficulty in rejecting the motion of Sir James Lowther; but if the House concur with him, they must think of the mode of enabling me to gratify their request. The additions to the Civil List will, I trust, prevent my soliciting any further assistance from Parliament, whilst further charges are not laid; but if Parliament wishes further expence, it may furnish further supplies.

"In Committee on the debate on the Civil List, Sir James "Lowther, on the resolution granting an additional sum for the "better support of His Majesty's Household, moved as an amendment "to insert the words, 'and for the different branches of the Royal "Family,' giving as his reason the wants of the King's two brothers. "This was postponed, it being irregular to move an amendment "upon a Report, and the original resolution was carried by 231 "to 109. On the 9th of May Sir James Lowther moved an Address "on behalf of the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, which was "negatived by 152 to 45."

Lord Brougham's note on Letter of April 20, 1777. For an account of the Bill "for the better Support of the Royal Household," see Lord Mahon's 'Hist. of England,' vi. p. 139.

LETTER 396.

Queen's House, May 9th, 1777.
15 min. p. 10 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—Nothing could be more proper than the manner the House of Commons set aside the motion of Sir James Lowther. I wish Mr. Rigby* had not brought on the subsequent debate, which certainly has made the Speaker's speech of more weight than could have been wished, and to a degree destroyed the handsome manner in which the House of Commons had come to my assistance, for the manner may enhance or diminish any gift. I hope your health will not suffer by the long attendance. The East India ballot will, I trust, save you, at least for this Session, much trouble, and therefore I look upon it as a great event; for I ever wish for your ease and every other comfort that can befall you, and no one can more sincerely interest himself than I do in whatever affects you.

LETTER 397.

* St. James's, May 14th, 1777.
58 min. pt. M.

LORD NORTH,—The preparing for the business of the House of Commons this day will naturally prevent you coming here; I therefore think it right to apprise you that the Post Office have received notice from the agent at Dover that news is come by a letter from Captain Frazer at Dunkirk, that Cunningham, the commander of the pyratical vessel that seized the 'Prince of Orange' packet-boat, is thrown into prison, and the said pacquet-

* See note to Letter 400.

boat and the other prizes ordered by the Court of France to be restored. This is so strong a proof that the Court of Versailles mean to keep appearances, that I think the news deserves a place in the speech you will make.

Captain Gustavus *Conyngham* gave a great deal of trouble at this time, and very nearly precipitated the quarrel with England then hatching in France. The American envoys at Paris, Franklin, Deane, Arthur Lee, and Co., prompted doubtless by the adroit Beaumarchais, bought at an English port a trim-built cutter, which they sent to Dunkirk, fitted up for privateering service, and christened 'The Surprise.' Captain Conyngham was appointed to command her, and one of his first exploits was the capture of the 'Prince of Orange' packet, then carrying the mails between England and Holland. The first intimation the captain of the 'Prince of Orange' had of his capture was the unlooked-for presence of Conyngham at his breakfast-table. The mail-bags were sent off at once to Paris. As, however, France and Great Britain were at the moment nominally friends, Lord Stormont demanded restitution or his passports. The great Gustavus accordingly and his crew were arrested and laid by the heels. The 'Prince of Orange' was restored, the 'Surprise' confiscated. The English Government sent two men-of-war to Dunkirk, for the purpose of bringing to England Conyngham and his crew, there to be tried as pirates. But the prison at Dunkirk was not furnished with good bars or locks, and the British captains were informed that Messieurs the pirates had escaped—to the great surprise and regret of the French Government.

LETTER 398.

Kew, May 29th, 1777.
10 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—After the Report has been received on the Tax Bills, I trust you will be troubled with no further debates during the few days the Session will still continue; for as to the African business, I should imagine, having consented to the Committee, you may leave Ld. G. Germain and Mr. Burke to shew their

oratorical powers; and as the former has not taken much share in this Session, you may pretty much leave him to defend his own Board.

"May 23. A job of the Ministers in the African Company was "severely treated by Charles Fox." "The Ministers were forced to "abandon the African job, which had been countenanced by the "Board of Trade."—'Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 156: the words are really taken from the 'Last Journals of H. Walpole,' ii. p. 117.

LETTER 399.

** Kew, May 31st, 1777.
25 min. pt. 6 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am much pleased at finding you have concluded the Committee on the African business, by referring the abuses mentioned in the Report of the Board of Trade to the next Sessions of Parliament. I have as yet not heard from Lord Weymouth concerning the debate on the House of Lords, and consequently am much pleased with your attention in sending unto me a copy of Lord Chatham's highly unseasonable motion, which can have no other use but to convey some fresh fuel if attended to by the rebels. Like most of the other productions of that extraordinary brain, it contains nothing but specious words and malevolence, for no one that reads it, if unacquainted with the conduct of the mother country and its colonies, [but] must suppose the Americans poor mild persons, who after unheard-of and repeated grievances had no choise but slavery or the sword; whilst the truth is, that the too great lenity of this country encreased their pride and encouraged them to rebel. But, thank God! the nation does not see the unhappy contest through his mirour; if his sentiments

were adopted, I should not esteem my situation in this country as a very dignified one, for the islands would soon [also] cast off all obedience.

The following sketch of the debate is drawn by H. Walpole, who was present at it—'Last Journals,' vol ii. p. 117:—

"30th May. The Lords having been acquainted by Lord Camden "that he had been desired by Lord Chatham to summon the House "for a motion he intended to make, he appeared this day, it having "been lately given out by his friends that he was perfectly reco- "vered. He looked pale, and grown much older, and had one "crutch. His voice was so low, that it could not be heard to the "end of the House, and little remained of his former fire, though "his second speech was more spirited. He spake an hour, con- "demned all late measures, said he had expected war with France, "but now thought the French would be wise and leave us to ruin "ourselves by wasting 8,000,000*l.* a-year against our own colonies. "That, if we could not conquer the Americans in 1775, should we be "able to do it in 1777, when 3,000,000 of people had been disci- "plined? That our army must be destroyed the moment it got to "any distance from the ships. At present we had not a single "province in America; we had only a military station. He did "not, indeed, approve of the Colonies declaring themselves inde- "pendent;[a] yet it was not too late, by repealing the repeated "grievances they complained of, to reconcile their affections to this "country. He then moved to address the King to prevent impend- "ing ruin from the continuation of an unnatural war, and to advise "him to take the most speedy and effectual measures for that pur- "pose, by putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, and by the removal "of accumulated grievances, promising that the House would enter "upon that great and necessary work with cheerfulness and de- "spatch, in order to open to His Majesty the only means of regaining "the affections of the British Colonies, and of securing to Great "Britain the commercial advantages of those invaluable posses- "sions, &c. The Duke of Grafton seconded the motion,[b] and took "notice of the despotic spirit preached up by the clergy, particularly "of a late sermon of the Archbishop of York (Markham) before the

[a] The reasons for Chatham's strange and tenacious opposition to the independence of the colonies are admirably stated, or at least conjectured, by the late Lord Macaulay, 'Edin. Rev.,' Oct. 1844.

[b] Lord Chatham's motion was rejected by 50 (76—26). One result of the debate was, that Dr. Markham's sermon was thenceforward "publicly "sold," for the instruction of the purchasers of it on the American question

" Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. That sermon, he said, " printed but not sold, was a base instance of servility, hoping to " recover favour in the Closet, and a libel on the Opposition.

" The day was a very unpropitious one for Administration, who " had nothing to say in defence of their measures. Lord Shelburne " ridiculed the exaggerated accounts and lies of the war; said that " they had asserted the Colonies gave 30*l.* a man for recruits, but " it was 30 rix-dollars; but he did not wonder that the ignorant " head of the Treasury (Lord North), who had not known sterling " from currency in the contract for rum, did not know pounds from " rix-dollars," &c. &c.

LETTER 400.

**St. James's, June 4th, 1777.

LORD NORTH,—I cannot have the smallest doubt that truth ought to be the chief object in a Speech from the Throne; that therefore it is every way safest to leave out the foreign article: to repeat what was said at the opening of the Session does not seem necessary, and silence shews that much alteration cannot have arisen. Perhaps I may also agree with Lord Mansfield as to the omission he wishes in the paragraph to the House of Commons: he certainly has been led to it by the strange language held by the Speaker when he brought up the Bill for the addition to the Civil List.

As to the last article I am much more of his opinion. You must easily see that it is thought by many very good friends, that there is some intention rather to plaister up the breach with the colonies than radically to cure the evil; I fear the latter part of the Speech would carry that appearance. In my own opinion the Americans will treat before winter; I therefore wish to leave the terms undecided, which ending with authority of law will do: that binds to nothing, but it does not

loosen the rope too much. If you see the whole in the light I do, I desire, after making the sentences run a little rounder, that it may be sent to the Secretary of State's Office.

The Session closed on the 6th of June.

"*The strange language held by the Speaker.*"—'Sir,' said Mr. "Speaker, 'in a time of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, "their constituents labouring under burdens almost too heavy to "be borne, your faithful Commons postponed all other business, "and, with as much despatch as the nature of their proceeding would "admit, have not only granted to your Majesty a large present "supply, but also a very great additional revenue—great beyond "example—great beyond your Majesty's highest wants.* But all "this, Sir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence that you "will apply wisely what they have granted liberally: and feeling "that, under the direction of your Majesty's wisdom, the affluence "and grandeur of the Sovereign will reflect dignity and honour on "his people.'" The entire Speech is printed in the 'Annual Register,' xx. p. 283. Lord Mahon and Horace Walpole think that the Speaker acted from indignation at having been refused a peerage. It may have been so; yet "facit indignatio *verum*," at times as well as "*versum*."

"The Speaker's language was highly resented as insolent and "disloyal by the whole tribe of courtiers; but as the statement was "strictly true, the more prudent of the King's friends thought it "better to let the matter pass without further notice. *Rigby*, how-"ever, whose coarse zeal and impudent servility could not be re-"pressed, took occasion two days after the House had, according to "the usual form, thanked the Speaker for his speech, to accuse him "of grossly misrepresenting the sentiments of the House. Upon "this the Speaker immediately desired that his speech and the vote "of thanks should be read. Fox proposed a Resolution expressly "approving the conduct of the Chair: observing that it was impos-"sible for Sir Fletcher Norton to retain his office, if the House "concurred in the opinion of the Paymaster. To this the Speaker "consented; but he went farther, and required that Fox's motion "should be agreed to. A strong feeling evidently pervaded the "House: and Lord North, who had witnessed with uneasiness "the presumptuous effrontery of his subordinate, gave him no sup-

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* In printing, this word was altered, not improved, into expenses.

" port. Rigby then lowered his tone, and endeavoured to evade the " question by an adjourment, but the House was in no temper for a " compromise, and Fox's motion was adopted nemine contradicente." —Massey, 'Hist. of England,' ii. p. 234.

LETTER 401.

* Queen's House, June 5th, 1777.
12 min. pt. 10 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I have just heard that Mr. Worseley, the Surveyor-General of the Board of Works, can scarcely outlive the day. I give you this notice, as it will make a very pretty House of Commons employment. I know very well that Adams the architect formerly applied to you for it; but if his name, or any other of the profession, comes in question, I shall certainly think it hard on Chambers, and shall in that case only think he must not be passed by.

James Adam was appointed Architect of his Majesty's Works, April 15th. The brothers *Adam* were natives of Scotland, patronised by Lord Bute, and shared in the unpopularity of their countryman. When, in July, 1768, they commenced the buildings named after the fraternity, *the Adelphi*, they were accused of encroaching upon the Thames, and thus of interfering with the rights of the Lord Mayor as conservator of the river. The Court and the City in that year were in direct opposition, and South Britain not upon the best of terms with North. It was made a party matter; the citizens applied for protection to Parliament, but the Court and good sense gained the day.

There were four brothers Adam—the aforesaid James, Robert (the eldest and ablest of the four), William, and John. The names of two of them are commemorated in Adam Street and John Street, Adelphi, and their unpopularity as Scotchmen in the following epigram:—

" 'Four Scotchmen of the name of Adam,
" 'Who keep their coaches and their madam,'
" Quoth John in sulky mood to Thomas,
" 'Have stole the very river from us.'"

Quoted by Lord Mahon (vi. p. 21) from the 'Foundling Hospital for Wit,' vol. iv. p. 189. See Cunningham's 'Handbook of London,' s. v. 'Adelphi.'

LETTER 402.

Kew, June 6th, 1777.
35 min. pt. 10 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I approve very much of your removing Mr. Keene[a] to be Surveyor of the Board of Works, but must insist on your acquainting him that I shall expect of him that all the employments in his gift are given according to seniority, unless where the person to whose turn promotion comes, by infirmities or ill conduct, does not deserve it, and then the next in succession to be advanced. These were the same injunctions I gave Mr. Worsley.

De Grey deserves to be advanced, and Sir Ralph Payne[b] will fill the Board of Green Cloth with great propriety. You will therefore direct these to attend the Levee. As to the person proposed for Groom of the Bedchamber,[c] I cannot make out his name; but if he is a man of good character and of a gentleman's family, I give my consent; but you must immediately send to Lord Ashburnham, who notifies the Grooms of the Bedchamber, that he may introduce him after my dressing. I have not ordered the equipages till half-hour past one, so that the House of Commons will have time to order the writs.

[a] Colonel Keene, Lord North's brother-in-law; but Worseley did not die as was expected.

[b] "Thomas de Grey, son of the "Chief Justice, and others, to be his "Majesty's Commissioners for Trade "and Plantations;" and "Sir Ralph "Payne, Knight of the Bath, youngest "clerk-comptroller of the Board of "Green Cloth. June 20th." Gazette.

[c] His name was Charles Herbert, cousin of Lord Pembroke. June 26th. Ib.

LETTER 403.

Kew, June 8th, 1777.
11 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—The letter to Lord Howe undoubtedly is well drawn up, and, unless he is very wrongheaded, must convince him that you are desirous of obliging him: as the ships are ready, it is a pity to lose so favorable a wind; I therefore trust you will order every possible expedition to be used in getting as quickly as can be the money to Portsmouth.

By the decease of Sir Gilbert Elliot (14th January) the place of Treasurer of the Navy had become vacant. It was said by his Lordship's family to have been promised to him by Lord North. It was given, however, to Mr. Welbore Ellis (June 20). The Howe family were very indignant, although the brothers were at this time not only Commanders-in-Chief, but drawing their pay as Commissioners in America also. "Mrs. Howe, Lord Howe's sister, told "Colonel Keene the quarrel with Lord North was irreconcilable." (H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' ii. p. 121.) *The letter* probably related to the Admiral's disappointment.

LETTER 404.

Kew, July 2nd, 1777.
56 min. pt. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—Any one that will for an instant suppose himself in the situation of Sir Guy Carleton,[a] must feel that the resigning the Government of Quebec is the only dignified part; though I think, as things

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[a] See the King's letter to Lord North, March 3rd, 1778. "On the 1st "of September Frederick Haldiman, "Esq. (see Letter 309), Lieutenant-"General of his Majesty's Forces, was "appointed Captain-General and Com-"mander-in-Chief of the province of "Quebec, in the room of Sir Guy "Carleton." Gazette. Haldiman, indeed, got no farther than Plymouth on his way to Canada. He was recalled by Lord George Germaine, who was suspected of having reasons to dread the return of Sir Guy Carleton. On his trial after the battle of Minden, Haldiman had been a witness for, and Carleton against, Lord George.

were situated, the ordering him to remain in the province was a necessary measure, yet it must be owned to be mortifying to a soldier. The General seems at the same time to have facilitated as much as possible the steps necessary for enabling Burgoyne to cross the Lakes.

LETTER 405.

Kew, July 11th, 1777.
46 min. pt. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH, — The despatches received from Sir William Howe and Mr. Wier shew that the accounts of receipts, expenditures, and wants will be regularly [sent?], which will enable the Treasury to provide what is necessary, and I trust this campaign will, agreable to Sir William's opinion, go deep towards ending this vexatious though necessary business.

On or about the 10th accounts arrived from Sir William Howe that he had not received camp equipage for the army till the 24th of May, and that he was then preparing to take the field. He did not move from his winter intrenchments until the 12th of June, alleging that "the green forage was not on the ground," and when he did move he had no decided plan of operation. (See Adolphus, ii. p. 451.) Washington meanwhile had recruited his army, and Congress, encouraged by the hope of assistance from France, was bestirring itself.

LETTER 406.

* Kew, July 16th, 1777.
37 min. pt. 10 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—The intelligence given by Mr. Wentworth,[a] if [well] founded, is very material, and is cer-

[a] Paul Wentworth, an emissary of the Government at Paris. Later we shall find him in communication with Silas Deane and the French ministry.

tainly very agreable; if timidity actuates the French court to delay taking an open hostile part, some good success in North America is likely to make her the more cautiously avoid taking up a losing game. Whatever may be the real motives of this determination, the delaying if possible having more on our hands at present is the natural suggestion of a dispassionate mind, but then France must [not] wound us by aiding and protecting the rebel ships which harass our trade.

Letter 407.

Kew, July 22nd, 1777.
22 min. pt. 4 p.m.

Lord North,—I am not surprised that Lord Talbot should have been misinformed as to the Archdeaconry of Landaff; indeed, few of those benefices are out of the presentation of the diocesan.

I last night read the dispatches from V.-Admiral Montague, containing the account of the 'Fox' being taken by two American rebel vessels, and giving but too much reason to expect that mischief will be done to fishery; but I trust, if Lord Howe has sent the two frigates applied for by the Governor, that the gang of pyrates will soon be driven off. I am engaged in an unpleasant though necessary business, which must naturally occasion many disagreable events, but I hope I have strength enough to meet then.

The letters from France are as good as we could expect, and will answer very well, provided the execution be scrupulously observed.

The 'Fox' frigate, Captain Fotheringham. She was retaken by Sir George Collier in H.M. ship 'Rainbow,' on the 18th of August.

('Ann. Register,' xx. p. 195.) The 'Hancock,' which had captured the 'Fox,' was taken at the same time. The "unpleasant business" probably related to the Duke of York, who had been dangerously ill at Verona. He and the Duchess were now on their way to England, and were, at the date of this letter, at Trent (see 'Ann. Register,' xx. p. 191, where however the Duke is said to have been taken ill at Rome). Horace Walpole ('Last Journals,' vol. ii. pp. 135 foll.) devotes twenty-four pages to the history of the Duke and Duchess of York at this time. It is at the least a *strange* story.

There was considerable alarm occasioned at this time by the appearance of American privateers in the British seas. The city of Dublin was thrown into consternation by them, and trade seriously injured. "Not one of the linen-ships that were loaded for "Chester Fair was suffered to depart, upon which account the fair "was postponed for some time. The Lord-Lieutenant thought it "expedient, lest the Americans should make any attempt upon the "shipping in Dublin Bay, to order cannon from the arsenal, and to "form two batteries to defend the entrance to it." ('Ann. Register,' xx. p. 192.)

The French Court forbade American privateers to remain above twenty-four hours in their ports. Captain Conyngham (see Letter 397) was on the alert, and took nine prizes about this time.

Accompanying these dangers to property at sea, was a general distrust in this country. There was a great want of money; people hoarded their coin; bankers would not discount bills; and the Ministers with great difficulty prevailed on the Bank of England to assist them.

Three days after the date of this letter, accounts arrived that Sir William Howe had marched against General Washington, but found him so strongly intrenched, that he did not venture to attack him, and returned to New York. On the 22nd of June, however, the English General was very near a success. By a well-conceived and well-executed stratagem he lured the American commander from the heights. He feigned to retreat. He relinquished Brunswick, returned to Amboy, threw a bridge across the channel to Staten Island, passing over his heavy cannon and a small body of men. The Americans were deceived: large bodies of men, under the command of Generals Maxwell, Conway, and Lord Stirling, eagerly pursued him, and even Washington came down to Quibbletown to cooperate with these detachments. Howe, conceiving the fortunate moment to have arrived, retraced his steps, and pushed on his army by different routes, hoping either to bring on a general engagement, for which the British forces were much better suited than the American, or to cut off the advanced parties of his pursuers, and to

secure some passes into the highlands. Lord Cornwallis indeed fell in with and routed a force of three thousand men under General Maxwell and Lord Stirling, and chased them to Westfield; but Washington escaped, regained the hills, and was again master of the passes. On the following day (July 23rd) Howe returned to Amboy, crossed over with all his forces to Staten Island, and evacuated the Jerseys.

Letter 408.

* Kew, August 17th, 1777.

Lord North,—I am very happy that the application from Lord Guildford in favour of Mr. Eyre is of a nature that I can so easily grant. Whenever Roman Catholick gentlemen of reputable characters have applied for a licence to enable their sons to enter into the Austrian or Sardinian service I have always signed it, but make it a rule never to grant any leave for entering into the French service.

You will therefore give notice to Sir Stanier Porter to prepare the licence for the son of Mr. Eyre for going into the Sardinian service.

The more I reflect on the specific demands through Forth, the more I approve of them, for there cannot be a doubt that through a private hand stronger demands may be applied for and granted than through an ambassador it would be either seemly to grant or proper to recede from.

Letter 409.

* Windsor Castle, Aug. 22nd, 1777.
6 min. pt. 9 p.m.

Lord North has wrote with such propriety and so pointedly to Sir Eyre Coote, that I trust he will accept the command of the East India Company's forces.

It is very irksome to find the conduct of the French so very changeable; whether from duplicity or timidity it is equally distressing. I am glad Lord North has postponed his journey into Somersetshire untill he can meet the Cabinet to consider on the right measures to propose for my consideration on the present posture of affairs; but I think it ought not to assemble till the arrival of Mr. Forth. Whether the meeting is on Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday is not material; but that no hasty step shall be taken which may hasten on a war is very material. I hope that emissary has been instructed to allarm Mr. de Maurepas—that seems the engine which has most effect on him; but any public demonstrations, if not absolutely necessary, must endanger the stinging the French King personally.

Gibbon writes to Holroyd from Paris on the 13th of August:—

"What a wretched piece of work do we seem to be making of "it in America! The greatest force which any European power "ever ventured to transport into that continent is not strong "enough even to attack the enemy: the naval strength of Great "Britain is not sufficient to prevent the Americans (they have "almost lost the appellation of rebels) from receiving every assist- "ance that they wanted; and in the mean time you are obliged "to call out the militia to defend your own coast against their "privateers. You possibly may expect from me some account "of the designs and policy of the French Court. I shall only "say that I am not under any immediate apprehension of a war "with France. It is much more pleasant as well as profitable "to view in safety the raging of the tempest, occasionally to "pick up some pieces of the wreck, and to improve their trade, "their agriculture, and their finances, while the two countries "are '*lento collisa duello.*' Far from taking any speedy step to "put an end to this astonishing dispute, I should not be surprised "if next summer they were to lend their cordial assistance to "England as to the weaker party."

Mr. Hughes's comment on this letter of the historian is a comment on the King's letter also. 'Hist. of England,' vol. ii. p. 286:—

"The acts of the House of Bourbon, like those of all double-
" dealers, were full of inconsistencies, subject to perpetual remon-
" strance, and consequently requiring perpetual explanation; but
" its answers were always conciliatory, sometimes humble; so
" that even the most sagacious observers were deceived by its
" manifestation of frankness and sincerity: a profound politician
" who was at Paris in the very centre of information even declared"
then follows a portion of the preceding extract from Mr. Gibbon's correspondence.

Mr. Adolphus remarks, ii. p. 442,—"A cordial attachment to
" the interests and welfare of Great Britain could not be expected
" from France; but the most sagacious observers were of opinion
" that she was sincere in her desire to avoid a quarrel, although
" this disposition was attributed rather to want of union and
" enterprise among the principal people than to any combined
" system of pacific politics. The government of France was far
" from settled; the disorders of the late reign required a long
" interval to repair their effects on the finances; the King's darling
" project of forming a respectable naval force would be delayed,
" if not prostrated; and all his benevolent projects of economy
" would be superseded." "Much cause of offence was given by
" France, and her conduct was open to much suspicion; but remon-
" strances were never answered with defiance, redress was never
" refused if never truly granted, and recriminations were generally
" urged in a tone which did not preclude accommodation."

LETTER 410.

** Kew, Sept. 19th, 1777. 46 min. pt. 11 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—From delicacy I take this method of opening to you an affair that dwells much on my mind, but that I can more easily express on paper to you than in conversation. I have now signed the last warrant for paying up the arrears due on my Civil List, and therefore seize with pleasure this instant to insist on doing the same for you, my dear Lord. You have at times droped to me that you had been in debt ever since your first settling in life, and that you had never been able to get out of that difficulty; I

therefore must insist you will now state to me whether 12 or 15,000*l.* will not set your affairs in order; if it will, nay, if 20,000*l.* is necesary, I am resolved you shall have no other person concerned in freeing them but myself. Knowing now my determination, it is easy for you to make a proper arrangement, and at proper times, for to take by degrees that sum. You know me very ill if you do not think that of all the letters I have ever wrote to you this one gives me the most pleasure, and I want no other return but you being convinced that I love you as well as a man of worth as I esteem you as a minister. Your conduct at a critical minute I never can forget, and am glad that by your ability and the kindness of Parliament I am enabled to give you this mark of my affection, which is the only one I have ever yet been able to perform, but trust some of the employments for life will in time become vacant, that I may reward your family.

The payment of the royal debts was by no means prompt, the money for that purpose having been voted on the 18th of April. It was whispered that some of it was sent to France to corrupt the French ministers, especially M. de Vergennes, who was believed to be a pensioner of Lord Stormont.

LETTER 411.

Kew, Sept. 27, 1777. 22 min. pt. 9 p.m.

THE two letters from Mr. Wentworth are certainly curious, but, as *Edwards* is a stockjobber as well as a double spy, no other faith can be placed in his intelligence but that it suits his private views to make us expect the French Court mean war, whilst undoubtedly there is good ground to think that event

is more distant than we might suppose six months ago. Mr. Wentworth I suspect is also a dabbler in the Alley, and as such may have views; I am certain he has one, the wish of getting some employment.

Letter 412.

* Queen's House, Oct. 28th, 1777.
30 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Lord North,—The letter to Lord Howe is very proper, and I trust will make him turn his thoughts to the mode of war best calculated to end this contest as most distressing to the Americans, and which he seems as yet carefully to have avoided. To me it has always appeared that there was more cruelty in protracting the war than in taking such acts of vigour which must bring the crisis to the shortest decision.

On this day "at last letters arrived from General Howe with an "account of his landing, after a tedious passage of above forty days, "in Chesapeake Bay, August 28. He said General Washington "was posted between him and Philadelphia, at Wilmington, with "about 15,000 militia." (Horace Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 159.)

Letter 413.

* October 28th, 1777.

Lord North,—There cannot be the smallest doubt of the propriety of knowing the sentiments of the Attorney and Sollicitor Generals on the vacancy of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer before it is decided who shall, on their declining, fill that respectable office. By your note I should think it not improbable that one of them may chuse to accept of it; I freely owne I should be much pleased if the Sollicitor was the person,

for I think the Attorney, though sometimes a little too positive, yet as the most to be depended upon and most firm in his present employment, who has at the same time tallents for any office in his profession, and by far the fittest person in the Hall to succeed Lord Mansfield. I hope you will in the course of this week see both these lawyers, for the time is now but short for making the arrangement before the term.

"On the 1st December, John Skynner, Esq., to be Lord Chief "Baron of the Court of Exchequer, and at the same time the honour "of knighthood." ('Gazette.')

LETTER 414.

Queen's House, Nov. 17th, 1777.
30 min. pt. 8 a.m.

MR. WENTWORTH has shewn great zeal and dispatch in the business he had so handsomely undertaken and ably accomplished. It appears now very clear that Spain acts more honorably than France even towards the rebels. She promises pecuniary assistance, but fairly declines war: the other hints at having recalled her Newfoundland sailors, and at having shipped[a] six ships of the line out for the West Indies. As to the first, the season, not her orders, must soon bring them home; and as to the latter, I totally discredit it, and it serves only to confirm me in the opinion that, however we may have just reason to be angry at her mean conduct, yet she does not act a fairer part towards the rebels.

I return the box with the newspapers that arrived a fortnight ago, and trust you will send me forth one this day.

[a] Sic in MS.; perhaps "equipped" was intended.

Lord Mahon (vi. p. 149–151) describes the different conduct of the French and Spanish Courts with respect to the war in America, and awards the merit of superior candour to the former. Congress, it seems, had directed its agents—and since midsummer there had been no fewer than twelve in Europe, most of whom lived in Paris—to promise that, in case France and Spain would enter into the war, the United States would assist the former in the conquest of the British sugar-islands, and the latter in the conquest of Portugal. In the first of these proposals there may have been some arrogance, considering the condition of the American forces at this time by land or sea; but there was no immorality, political or national; for some of those islands before the peace of 1763 had belonged to France, and Britain and the States were now two belligerent nations. The second, however, was both arrogant and immoral; for what right had the Americans to interfere with Portugal's independence when they were struggling for their own?

"King Charles of Spain," says Lord Mahon, "was a man too "upright to enter readily into such views of conquest, and too far-"sighted not to fear the ill example to his own colonies of successful "insurrection. Though full of bitter feeling against the British, he "was not as yet prepared to break with them. He directed Arthur "Lee—the American envoy to the Court of Spain—to stop short at "Burgos, lest his presence at Madrid should give umbrage to the "English embassy. But at Burgos Lee was met by the leading "minister Grimaldi; and, after several secret interviews, Grimaldi "was prevailed upon to grant a small sum of money for the purchase "of military stores, which were shipped to the United States from "Bilbao."

In October, or early in November, M. Grand informed the American envoys "that the King would buy their frigate; and in "addition would make them a further loan of three millions of "francs, and endeavour to induce the King of Spain to do the same.* "He would moreover engage never to leave them unprovided with "sufficient means to pay the interest of their debt." (Parton, 'Life of Franklin,' vol. ii. p. 280.) Of the solicitations of the American envoys, of the French Court's willingness to wound and its fear to strike Great Britain at this juncture, of its hollow professions of amity and its active and secret intrigues against her, a full and

* Franklin published an address to foreign powers inviting them to lend money to the Americans, alleging that their good faith might be depended upon, inasmuch as they had paid their debts to England, although war had been declared. This address was published in many languages, and here in the 'Westminster Journal.' It contains several sharp strokes of satire on the corruption and profligacy of England at this time.

lively account is given by this writer. (Ib. pp. 201–283.) Franklin was at work twelve hours daily for a considerable period, tempting or urging King Louis to declare war against King George.

LETTER 415.

Queen's House, Nov. 17th, 1777.
17 min. pt. 5 p.m.

I RETURN the note received this day from Mr. Wentworth, and the small paper it enclosed from his friend, which is not very material.

I have just got Lord North's letter, and entirely approve of his having sent the 500*l.* from Mr. Wentworth's correspondent. I do not doubt but the officer with the news will arrive before I go to meet the Parliament on Thursday. The account given by the young man who deserted from the rebels to Sir W. Howe is pleasing, and perfectly coincides with what Lord Amherst asserted unto me, that Washington had never had this campaign near 10,000 regular troops, but that with militia it might amount to that, or perhaps a couple of thousand more.

Washington, in a letter dated May 21, 1777 (see Adolphus, ii. p. 450), wrote, "Nothing but a good face and false appearances have "enabled us hitherto to deceive the enemy respecting our strength." He wrote to Putnam earlier in this year (January 5), "You will "give out your strength to be twice as great as it is." If his Majesty means by 10,000 regular troops, troops engaged *durante bello*, or for a term of two or three years, it is very likely that the "young "man" overstated the number.[a] Yet, as Mr. Adolphus remarks,— "The American General founded his expectations on the increasing "attachment of the troops; their progress in military discipline; "the favour resulting to the cause from a protracted struggle, in "which not to be defeated was to conquer; the hopes of effectual "assistance from France; and the certainty that Congress, con-

[a] In June Washington had only 7272 men of all arms.

" sidering the army their sole resource, would no longer be restrained " by a mean and rigid policy from affording encouragement and " imparting all requisite powers."

Washington had some foreign exiles and some adventurers in his ranks—Poles who had lately been engaged in the civil war in their own then and now unhappy land—among them Kosciusko, who was serving as an officer of engineers. Even in October, 1766, he was rather bewildered by a number of French gentlemen-volunteers—" seeming to be," he says, " genteel sensible men" ('Writings,' vol. iv. p. 146), whom, from their ignorance of the English language, he was unable to employ.[a] " Four officers of French engineers—Mon-" sieur de Portail especially—were secretly licensed by their govern-" ment to accept commissions in the American army." (Lord Mahon, vol. vi. p. 150.) See 'Correspondance de Lafayette,' 1777-8, for a graphic description of the American army. He was at the first scandalised by their grotesque appearance, but soon discovered, " though they appeared a little out of fashion, there was much " care and valour " in them.

Letter 416.

Queen's House, Nov. 21st, 1777.
25 min. pt. 9 a.m.

Though well satisfied that the wisdom of Parliament would be shewn by a very handsome majority on the opening of the Session, yet I cannot help expressing to Lord North the pleasure I feel at my expectations having been accomplished.

I suppose there will be a long debate this day on the Report. I shall be willing to receive the House of Commons either to-morrow or Monday, whichever will be most advantageous to your carrying forward the

[a] The French and American officers did not harmonise. Lafayette writes, 1 Oct. 1777: " Tous les étrangers qui " sont à l'armée,—car je ne parle seule-" ment de ceux qui n'ont pas d'emploi, " et qui rendront à leur retour en " France des comptes de l'Amérique " tres peu justes, parce que l'homme " piqué et l'homme qui se venge ne " sont pas de bonne foi,—tous les autres " étrangers, dis-je, employés ici, sont " mécontens, se plaignent, sont dé-" testans et détestés." — Correspond., vol. i. p. 106, ed. 1837.

supplies that must be passed before the recess. Should you decide for to-morrow, I hope proper care will be taken to get enough members to attend, that the same delay as last year may not arise, and that the gentlemen in office may understand that they ought on this occasion to come up with the House, instead of riding in Hyde Park whilst the Speaker is detained, from want of the proper number for his taking the chair.

"The King opened Parliament on the 20th[a] of November with "a most gracious Speech from the Throne." 'Ann. Register,' xx. p. 210. "Parliament was to meet on the 20th. Some [of the "Ministers] totally desponded; some were for putting it off; the ma- "jority prevailed to open the Session. But it was the most pusillani- "mous Speech they had ever produced. So far from announcing the "complete conquest of America, as had been promised this cam- "paign, it only talked of hoping for important success, but confessed "the obstinacy of the rebels, and hinted at another campaign by "increase of forces. It talked of pacific assurances from foreign "powers, but confessed that France and Spain were arming so "powerfully, that His Majesty could not trust their promises, and "had been forced to provide for the security of his own dominions. "At the end it stooped to hope that the Americans would return to "their duty and sue for peace, which to re-establish would be the "greatest glory and happiness of his reign."

Addresses were moved as usual full of the most lavish panegyrics on the Speech and the profound wisdom of Ministers. Lord Hyde moved the Address in the Commons, and Sir Gilbert Elliot seconded it, declaring in all the fervour of youth[b] that the rectitude of the measures of the Cabinet was so demonstrable, that he was amazed a single Englishman could be found hardy enough to oppose them and justify the Americans.

The following extract from a letter of Lord Ossory to his brother Richard Fitzpatrick, then in America, gives an account of the first day's debate; it is dated Ampthill, 27th November, 1777:—

"The most material event I have to mention to you is the meet- "ing of Parliament last week. You will see by the Speech and

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[a] Earl Russell, 'Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 157, says the 18th.

[b] This loyal young sprout was son of the Sir Gilbert whom we have sometimes met with in these Letters as a King's Friend, and who died on the 14th of January preceding, in the south of France.

"Address that we have so much pleasure and delight in the "American war that we pledge ourselves to support the prosecution "of it, notwithstanding the total ignorance we are in respecting "the situation of the armies. There was scarce the difference of "a vote in either House. In ours, for two days' debate, I never "remember such a superiority in point of speaking, argument, "reason, everything but numbers. Our friend (Fox) exceeded him- "self, and pronounced a grand philippic against the American "Secretary (Lord G. Germaine), whom he held up as the author of "all the mischief. He went rather too far, and the House did not "go along with him. The epithets he bestowed—"*That inauspicious* "*and ill-omened character whose arrogance and presumption, whose igno-* "*rance and inability*"—in short, he quite *terrassed* him; so much that "I think he will never exhibit himself to that House as its leader "so long as the other sits in it.[a] Burke, Sir G. Savile, and General "Conway, were all excellent in their different ways. Old Chatham[b] "was in high spirits; the amendment in both Houses was his, and "they say parts of his speech were very fine. We wait for news for "our (I mean Opposition) proceedings. It is my opinion, and every- "body's that has common sense, that we must be totally demolished, "as a country, by this folly, obstinacy, and insensibility."

LETTER 417.

Queen's House, Nov. 22nd, 1777.
12 min. pt. 5 p.m.

THE papers from Mr. Wentworth do not convey much information, particularly they do not incline me to credit his former assertion that six ships of the line are privately sailed to the W. Indies; indeed I believe the whole reason of his transmitting them to Lord North was to furnish an opportunity of his renewing his own private concerns and those of Governor Wentworth.

Finding Lord North seemed to feel for Mr. Fitzroy's

[a] Lord North defended Lord George, and said he was glad Fox had abandoned him, an old hulk, to attack a man of war: but he complimented Fox after the debate was ended, in Lord George's hearing. "Charles," he said, when Fox came up to the Treasury Benches, "I "am glad you did not fall on me to- "day, for you was in full feather!" Sir G. C. Lewis's 'Essays on the Administrations of Great Britain,' 1783-1830.

[b] For "Old Chatham," see his 'Correspondence,' vol. iv. pp. 448-50.

disappointment in case of Lord Delawarr's death, as well as to concurr with me in opinion that it would be impossible to create him at this time a Peer, another thought has arose in my mind: Lord Waldegrave to be Chamberlain to the Queen;[a] Fitzroy to be Commissioner of the Stables, he not being a Peer. I shall wish to hear your opinion when I see you next.

Governor Wentworth.—John Wentworth was by birth an American. He was agent for New Hampshire in conjunction with Barlow Trecothick. In 1767 he was appointed by Lord Rockingham governor of that province; and as he was the third governor of the name of Wentworth, and as he bore also the Christian name of one of his predecessors, he is styled in the provincial annals "John "Wentworth the Second." Though bearing the family name of Lord Rockingham, they were not of kin. Governor Wentworth stood high in popular favour, and in that respect was an exception to English prefects in North America generally. His judgment was sound, his taste refined, and his views, political and administrative, were large and liberal. Though bred a merchant, he had a taste for agriculture, and was active and intelligent in his plans for improvement. He frequently traversed the forests in New Hampshire, explored the ground for new roads, and began a plantation for himself in the township of Wolfeborough, on which he expended large sums and built an elegant house. His example was influential on other landholders, who were induced by it to apply themselves to the improvement of waste lands. See 'Mem. of Rockingham,' ii. p. 87, where Belknap's 'Hist. of New Hampshire,' p. 339, and Allan's 'American Biographical Dictionary,' p. 764, are cited as authorities.

Letter 418.

Nov. 29th, 1777. 35 m. pt. 5 p.m.

Lord North,—I should have thought that the very handsome proposal delivered this day by you in my name to the Duke of Gloucester would have deserved

[a] The Marquis of Carmarthen was appointed Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household, in the place of Earl Delawarr, who died on the 22nd of November.

in return at least the civility of not applying for a public provision for a person who must always be odious to me: indeed, considering the tender age of the children, there will be enough to support them and their mother should the Duke of Gloucester not live. Your answer was highly proper, and confirms my opinion of your being the fittest messenger for matters of delicacy, as you stick to your instructions, which you do not mutilate by chusing to explain.

LETTER 419.

* Queen's House, Dec. 4th, 1777.
30 min. pt. 10 a.m.

MY DEAR LORD,—I cannot help just taking up your time for a few minutes to thank you in the most cordial manner for your speech; the manly, firm, and dignified part you took brought the House to see the present misfortune in true light, as very serious, but not without remedy; it may very probably on due consideration, which I trust all in my service will be willing to give, in the end prove the wisest step in our present situation to act only on the defensive with the army, and with great activity as to the troops. Canada, Nova Scotia, the Floridas, New York, and Rhode Island, must probably be the stations, but those who have served in those parts, particularly Lord Amherst, must be consulted, and will be able to point out what is best. I shall only add that I can never forget the friendship as well as zeal you have shewn to me by your conduct yesterday. GEORGE R.

News of the surrender of Burgoyne arrived in London on the night of the 2nd of December. It came at first as an unauthorised

rumour, having been brought to Ticonderoga by the reports of deserters, and from Ticonderoga transmitted to Quebec. On the 3rd Colonel Barré interrogated the American Secretary of State what, upon his honour, was become of General Burgoyne and his brave troops, and whether he had not received from Quebec information of his having surrendered with his whole army?

Lord George Germaine avowed the receipt of expresses from Quebec with the unhappy intelligence, but, as it was not authenticated, he could not declare it officially. Colonel Barré inveighed against the American Secretary for the cool and easy manner in which he related the fate of Burgoyne, and his assurance in insinuating that a portion of the censure was attributable to the General. He was followed by Mr. James Luttrell, Mr. Burke, Thomas Townshend, and Charles Fox.

The Solicitor-General consoled the House by recounting former misfortunes to English armies, calling "defeat the certain harbinger of victory." Had not General Stanhope been forced at Brihuega to surrender himself and his army prisoners at war?

And Lord North declared himself "sincerely desirous of peace," willing to surrender his place, if by so doing he could obtain it, and then passed on to the business of the day, namely, the voting of supplies for the war. The supplies were granted, and a motion by Mr. Fox for copies of instructions to General Burgoyne and Sir William Howe was negatived.

Out of Parliament we discover less coolness at the surrender:—

"Dreadful news indeed!" says Gibbon, writing to Holroyd on the 4th of December. "You will see them partly in the papers, and "we have not yet any particulars. An English army of nearly ten "thousand men laid down their arms and surrendered prisoners of "war, on condition of being sent to England, and of never serving "against America. They had fought bravely, and were three days "without eating. Burgoyne is said to have received three wounds. "General Fraser, with two thousand men, killed; Colonel Acland "likewise killed. A general cry for peace."

The intelligence of Burgoyne's capture was hailed at Paris with the liveliest satisfaction. The British Ministers—however ignorant or misled they may have been at an earlier period of the war—were well informed at this period of what was taking place at Paris, and at Passy, Dr. Franklin's residence—of the American envoys' secret and sometimes midnight conferences with Maurepas and de Vergennes—and of the desire and determination of the French Court to declare war as soon as the Americans obtained any marked success. Lord North and his colleagues, and His Majesty also, were accordingly in possession of much that it was important for the nation and

its representatives to know, and which, known, might have disinclined them to vote for increased taxes or to supply fresh recruits. Among other matters the following, being done in open daylight, cannot have escaped the notice of their spies, Bancroft,[a] Edwards, and Co.

Mr. Jonathan Loring Austin, Secretary to the Massachusetts Board of War, sailed on the last day of October in a quick-going vessel from Boston. He reached Nantes in thirty-one days, and pushed on rapidly for Paris. But rumour, swifter even than his speed, preceded him, and all the circle of American agents hurried to Passy to be present at the opening of the packet. Silas Deane, William Lee, Arthur Lee, Izard, *Bancroft*, Beaumarchais, all appear to have been there. When Mr. Austin's chaise was heard in the court they all went out to meet him, and before he had time to alight, Dr. Franklin cried out,

"Sir, is Philadelphia taken?"[b]

"Yes, sir," replied Austin.

Upon hearing this Dr. Franklin clasped his hands and turned as if to go back into the house.

"But, sir," said Austin, "I have greater news than that. *General "Burgoyne and his whole army are prisoners of war.*"

"The news," said Mr. Deane afterwards, "was like a sovereign "cordial to the dying." An express is sent within a few hours to M. de Vergennes at Versailles. Dr. Bancroft sets out for England, first, as Arthur Lee thinks, to do a little business on the Stock Exchange on his own account, and then to communicate the tidings to the heads of the Opposition [perhaps also to some other heads as well]. Beaumarchais in his haste drove to Paris at such a rate that his chaise broke down, and one of his arms was dislocated. In a few days all Europe heard of the surrender, and it is grievous to add that all Europe, except the continental holders of English stock and the country and Court party in England, rejoiced at it. England since 1763 had borne herself exceeding proudly, and so her humiliation was welcomed by at least both branches of the House of Bourbon, their kingdoms and dependencies. M. Dumas wrote from the

[a] Bancroft was in the pay both of the English Cabinet and of Congress; and yet contrived to live for many years afterwards with a decent reputation, and to be interred respectably at Exeter!

[b] Philadelphia had fallen into Sir William Howe's power on the 20th of September. It was felt as a severe blow in America and at Passy, and increased or at least justified the wary walking of the French Court. "Well, "Doctor," said an Englishman to Franklin, "Howe has taken Philadelphia." "I beg your pardon, sir," was the reply; "Philadelphia has taken Howe." The jest, intended to mask depression, proved to be a sober truth. Howe remained inactive for many months in Philadelphia—the Quaker city apparently inspiring him with a not very seasonable disinclination for warlike movements. See Bowring's 'Bentham,' vol. x. p. 527.

Hague that the cafés and the Exchange were all astir with the news, and that the colonies were considered as lost to the English. Parton's 'Life of Franklin,' vol. ii. pp. 283–5.

The following passage from a letter written by an American Tory, December 9, 1777, is worth extracting [see Frank Moore's 'Diary of the American Revolution,' vol. i. p. 525]:—"The account "of General Burgoyne's treaty with Mr. Gates arriving when the "two Houses of Parliament were sitting, and in the warmth of "high debate, the friends of Government were much confounded "and staggered by such a shock; but you cannot imagine how "furiously, illiberally, and indecently Opposition triumphed on "the occasion, opening and roaring like so many bulldogs against "Administration. The King,—God bless him! for we never had a "better one, and no other nation ever had so good a one,—who feels "every calamity and misfortune of his people, was greatly affected; "but with that magnanimity which distinguished his character, he "soon declared that such a cause could never be given up, that this "loss must be retrieved by greater and more vigorous exertions, and "that he would even sell Hanover and all his private estate before "he would desert the cause of his loyal American subjects who had "suffered so much for him.

"In two or three days the nation recovered from its surprise, and "now is ready to support the King and his Ministers in the proper "and vigorous use of such means as are adequate to the great end of "reducing the revolted colonies to a constitutional subordination. "Many in both Houses of Parliament have spoken to this effect with "great spirit, and one member of the Commons, Mr. Cambridge, "said that he would part with reluctance with one shilling in the "pound towards raising another army of ten thousand men for "America, yet he would cheerfully pay twelve shillings in the "pound towards an additional army of sixty thousand men."

LETTER 420.

Queen's House, Dec. 9th, 1777.
20 min. p. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am much pleased with the offer of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Manchester to raise 1000 men at this particular juncture; all I wish to know is, what is their exact proposal; for, if they apply for the recommendation of too many of the officers, or

for very extraordinary advanced rank to those of their friends to be advanced from other corps into the one they offer to raise, it will give such general disgust to the army, and in particular to those serving in America, that it would be more disservisable [sic] than advantageous. I have yesterday instructed Lord Barrington to prepare everything for raising five thousand men, of which this thousand may make a part; I have directed him that they shall be raised companies of 100 men each. Consequently those who wish to assist their friends will be permitted to raise as many of the companies as they can ensure to compleat in a given time; if not at that period, on close inspection, found compleat, and the men fit for service, the officers will not get their commissions. I trust by the experience of the last war that this plan, which succeeded much better than Chas. Townshend's scandalous job, will not fail of success. Lord Barrington owned to me he had not the smallest doubt of success.

I don't think Mr. Hopkins* of consequence enough to have notified to him his dismission, and I do not recollect that the Lord Stewart [sic] on similar occasions took such a step.

I have no objection to Lords Winchelsea and Aylesford to supply the vacancies in my Bedchamber by the dismission of Lord Jersey and the placing Lord Carmarthen in the Queen's family. She wishes much that Lord Waldegrave would change his employment for her Gold Key, in which case Lord Carmarthen would be appointed Master of the Horse; if the last does not chuse to change, Lord Winchelsea to be the Queen's Master of the Horse. As soon as this is determined, I will send to Lord Ashburnham to notify the new appointments

* "Mr. Hopkins" was dismissed from the Board of Green Cloth, and replaced by Sir Richard Worseley.

and the dismission, and they cannot be presented untill they hear from the Groom of the Stole. As to the Irish gentleman who has wrote to Mr. Keene, I do not know anything of him, therefore cannot say a word as to his plan, which has not yet the appearance of being digested by himself, consequently not in a shape that can enable any opinion to be formed concerning it.

Do not forget the Comptroller's Staff[a] ought to be given to-morrow, and to acquaint me in the morning how you have formed the arrangement in the House of Commons.

"December 9.—The towns of Manchester and Liverpool have "entered into a subscription to raise a regiment each, to be employed "against the rebels in America." 'Ann. Register,' xx. p. 215. "The general result of the news from Saratoga," says Lord Mahon, vi. p. 207, "at home was not despondency nor even depression. On "the contrary, a loyal spirit was almost everywhere aroused. The "Highlands of Scotland and the towns of Manchester and Liverpool "took the lead.[b] Large sums were freely subscribed to raise new "regiments; and thus by private means were fifteen thousand soldiers "added to the forces of the State."

Letter 421.

Queen's House, Dec. 13th, 1777.
3 min. pt. 9 a.m.

The letter which Lord North has received from Mr. Forth, dated the 4th of Dec., almost exceeds his usual extraordinary narrations; but one truth is learnt by it, that he can without the smallest scruple deal untruths when he thinks them to his purpose. His conversation with the D. de Chartres[c] is remarkable, and

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[a] The Right Hon. Lord Onslow was appointed Comptroller of His Majesty's Household.

[b] Fox said that "Scotland and Manchester were so accustomed to disgrace, that it was no wonder if they "pocketed instances of dishonour and "sat down contented with infamy." Speech in the House of Commons, Jan. 22, 1778.

[c] Soon to be Duke of Orleans—(Égalité).

this I suppose is the foundation on which Lord Stormont writes in his last dispatches the insinuations he has had from Dr. Franklyn [sic]. If there is any truth in them, I should suppose Dr. Bancroft is arrived on that business.

Lord North not mentioning how he finds himself since his medicine, I trust it is a proof he is much better; I also labour at present under a cold, but a little diet will certainly prevent the necessity of calling for phisical [sic] assistance.

LETTER 422.

Queen's House, Dec. 13th, 1777.
47 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I authorise you to acquaint Sir Thos. Egerton that I shall consent to placing the officers he has in the names of the gentlemen of Manchester recommended to be put into the corps they have very loyally subscribed to raise on the present occasion.

The mode of making the offer of raising the 1000 men should be by writing a letter to you, but they ought not in it to mention any wish of recommending some of the officers.

LETTER 423.

Queen's House, Dec. 15th, 1777.
35 min. pt. 9 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I have read the three letters you sent late last night, which are curious and agreable, as both writers concurr that war is further distant than some months ago. I cannot say I am quite edified at Lord Winchelsea's[a] not in reality liking his appoint-

[a] Lord Winchelsea, son of Lady Charlotte Finch, governess of the King's children. He was not flattered by his appointment to the Bedchamber.

ment, though out of duty he accepts of it. I remember the time when an ambassador would have thought that honor a reward for ability and diligence during a long foreign mission. However, it will teach me one lesson, never again to offer it, but to wait for applications.

I return the list of gentlemen recommended by those of Manchester, and am glad to find the spirit of many parts is rising on the late catastrophe; indeed, this country would have greatly fallen in my opinion if that event had not roused the lion.

Letter 424.

Queen's House. Dec. 15th, 1777.
39 min. pt. 4 p.m.

Lord North,—I cannot say in the note for raising troops in the Highlands that I approve of the placing Lord M'Leod,[a] the son of the late Lord Cromartie, as colonel, he never having been in the service of his country, but in that of Sweden.

As to the Sutherland and Caithness corps, as it is to be raised not to serve out of Britain, the officers must in that, as in those of the *Fencible* men of Argylshire and the Sutherland batt. in the last war, on reduction, not to be entitled to half-pay.

The Manchester corps is, I trust, now arranging with the War Office and the Adjutant-General. I never heard Lord Barrington make any mention of offers from Wales, but I trust when any appear practicable that they will be laid before me.

[a] "His Majesty having been pleased "to comply with the request of the "King of Sweden to invest the Right "Honourable Lord Macleod with the "ensigns of the order of the Sword, of "which order his Swedish Majesty has "nominated him a commander, his "Lordship had accordingly an audience "of His Majesty this day, Dec. 6th; "and after performing the usual cere-"monies, His Majesty took the sword "of state and knighted him therewith; "after which His Majesty took the "ribbon of the order and invested "Lord Macleod with it." 'Ann. Reg.' xxi. p. 213.

"Four Highland chiefs [see Letter 426] were to raise regiments, "and the Court talked of sending 26,000 men to America in April; "but that was impossible. They had been wanting recruits for "three years, and from Germany they could not get a man. The "King of Prussia had denied passage to the troops of Anspach, and "he and the Emperor had determined to suffer no more men to go "to America from Germany." Horace Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 174.

Gibbon, about the same time, writes to Holroyd:—"I congra- "tulate your noble firmness, as I suppose it must arise from the "knowledge of some hidden resources, which will enable us to open "the next campaign with new armies of fifty or sixty thousand "men. But I believe you will find yourself obliged to carry on this "glorious war almost alone."

Letter 425.

Queen's House, Dec. 18th, 1777.
46 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Lord North,—The account you have sent me of the success at Mud Island and Red Bank I thoroughly credit, and think that will encourage Sir W. Howe to attempt to draw the rebels into hazarding another engagement.

Ld. G. Germain has acquainted me with the letter he had received from Bamber Gascoyne concerning the offer of the Corporation of Liverpool to raise a batallion for the American war, under the specific declaration of not applying for any commissions above that of Captain. I have authorized him to return for answer that I shall accept of their loyal offer, as they do not intend to recommend any one for a superior commission to that of Captain; for I cannot consent that what should appear as the spontaneous acts arising from feeling the justice of the contest should be turned into apparent jobs to give unreasonable rise to young men.

19*th*. Came an account of the capture of Mud Island, and that Washington was with his army at Germantown. Mud Island was taken by Sir William Howe, and Redbank by Lord Cornwallis. Some stores were captured, but the Provincials retired in good order and with little loss. Howe after this slight success went in pursuit of Washington, but, finding the American General strongly entrenched behind a bridge at Whitemarsh, he thought better of it, and put his army into winter quarters in Philadelphia.

LETTER 426.

Queen's House, Dec. 18th, 1777.
50 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I have this day signed the beating orders for raising a regiment of 1000 men from the Campbells, for another of the same number from the Gordons, and another from the Macdonalds; so that the Highland recruiting is getting very forward. Lord Dunmore came with a proposal of raising 4000 men if he was appointed Colonel; but he proposed the Campbells, Gordons, Macdonalds, and Murrays to be part of his number; now these four are to raise seperate corps, consequently cannot be of assistance to him; besides, the principle on which I go is that no man is to get above one step, and he quitted the army several years ago, and only as a Captain.

LETTER 427.

Queen's House, Dec. 21st, 1777.
2 min. pt. m.

LORD NORTH with great propriety terms the enclosed letter a singular one; I cannot help adding the epithets

of offensive, and calculated alone to encrease animossity. But Franklin is too deep to draw it up solely from malevolence; it occurs to me therefore that if he could obtain any answer it would be tacitly acknowledging him and his collegues in the capacity they assume, and consequently admitting the right of the rebel colonies to make such appointment, and to be united states; and perhaps, if he does not succeed in this object, publishing something in Europe that may carry the air of our having acted with cruelty, which I am certain no officer, either military or civil, in my service would be guilty of. They certainly could not make much distinction among rebels, but if they have erred I should rather think it has been in too much civility towards them.

Comp. Letter 316. "Every means of distressing America must "meet with my concurrence." So wrote the King; and thus on the alleged "cruelty" spoke Lord Chatham on the 11th of December: "While, on our side, we must lament the unhappy fate of that "spirited officer Mr. Burgoyne, and the gallant troops under his "command, who were sacrificed to the wanton temerity and "ignorance of Ministers, we are as strongly impelled on the other "to admire and applaud the generous, magnanimous conduct, "the noble friendship, brotherly affection, and humanity of the "victors, who, condescending to impute the horrid orders of massacre "and devastation to their true authors, supposed that, as soldiers "and Englishmen, those cruel excesses could not have originated "with the General, nor were consonant to the brave and humane "spirit of a British soldier, if not compelled to it as an act of duty. "They traced the first cause of those diabolical orders to their "source; and, by that wise and generous interpretation, granted "their professed destroyers terms of capitulation which they could "be only entitled to as the makers of fair and honourable war."

Letter 428.

Queen's House, Dec. 24th, 1777.
44 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Lord North,—I have on this occasion, as I should on all occasions wish, been better than my word, and return all the papers you sent late last night. Those from Mr. W. concerning his conversations seem more calculated to shew his knowledge than to convey much information that can produce anything essential. His other letters are not very material, nor that of your extraordinary correspondent.

I am sorry to find by Mr. Beresford's letter that heartburnings are likely to prove serious in Ireland. I fear the new Lord Lieut. is too attentive to his new associates, and neglects the staunch friends to England.

Not supposing that any of the Ministers would have been in town on Friday, I had settled not to return to town till next week, so that I shall not see you till you return from Bushy.

The administration of the Earl of Buckinghamshire in Ireland "forms," says Grattan's biographer, 'Memoirs,' vol. i. p. 297, "a "most important era in her history. The rupture between Great "Britain and the American Colonies, and the just complaints of the "latter, had roused the feelings and riveted the attention of the "Irish people. They now beheld with surprise and indignation "that more respect was paid to the Americans who were termed "'rebels' than to the Irish. They saw that Commissioners were "to be appointed to hear and redress the grievances of the dis-"affected Colonies, while the King and his Ministers were alike "careless of the wishes, heedless of the wants, and deaf to the "complaints of the people of Ireland."

Some letters addressed by the Lord-Lieutenant to Lord North at this time are printed in the 'Memoirs of Grattan,' i. pp. 298-327, and are well worth perusal. Mr. Grattan, Mr. Fox, and the Rockingham Whigs had repeatedly directed the Minister's attention

to the decline of Ireland, in her fisheries, her trade, and manufactures. It did not suit Lord North to take much trouble at any time, still less to add Ireland and her grievances to his American vexations. So he took the short and easy way with complainants, and denied that there was any just cause for complaint. He even indulged in some pleasantry on the occasion of Irish bankruptcy and decay, and said about this time in Parliament that "everything was a scene of festivity in Ireland." This "*laissez-faire*" system bore its fruit in due season (1782-3): for the present (1777), Junius was justified in writing that "the "people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed" (1769).—Letter xxxv.

LETTER 429.

* Queen's House, Dec. 26th, 1777.
15 min. pt. 10 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I confess I am still of the opinion that I threw out to you yesterday; that if it on consideration should be thought right to enquire through the medium of a Board of General Officers into the defence laid by Lt.-G. Burgoyne, that his orders were positive (which I much incline to), the reference ought to extend to the failure of the expedition, and what is now proposed make only a part of it. Ld. G. Germain may be contented with an enquiry into what bears on himself, but when my name is mentioned it should be a candid not a partial enquiry; when I mentioned this to Ld. G. yesterday he wished it should go in the manner I mentioned.

As to the present draught, I should think it more regular (but precedents will settle that point) not to term it a *Court* of Enquiry, but to order all the Generals of equal or superior rank to Lt.-G. Burgoyne that have served in America, to be assembled to take into consideration the causes of the failure of the expedition under his command.

December 4, 1777. "Charles [Fox] made a motion to have the "instructions given to General Burgoyne relative to the Canada "expedition, and that part of Sir W. Howe's instructions relative to "his co-operation with Burgoyne, laid before the House. Nobody "could or attempted to make the least objection to this motion "further than that it was premature, as no authentic account of "this unfortunate news was yet arrived. The previous question "was put upon it and passed without a division." (Mr. Crawford to Lord Ossory, in 'Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 161.)

Ib. p. 163. "December 15. Burgoyne's account [of his sur-"render] was in his usual bombast, and absurd; he talked of having "*dictated* the terms of his surrender, and, lest it should not be pub-"lished at length in the 'Gazette,' he sent one copy to Lord Derby "and one to Charles Fox." Horace Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 175.

On the other hand, Lord Mahon (vi. p. 207) writes, "So far as "Burgoyne's own conduct was concerned, his vindication could be "placed in no hands more able than his own. When his despatch "from Albany was first sent forth in print, the public did not fail "to admire the grace, the good feeling, and the dignity with which, "in that able composition, he told his mournful tale. According to "a popular writer of that age, the style charmed every reader; but "he had better have beaten the enemy, and misspelt every word of "his despatch, for so, probably, the great Duke of Marlborough "would have done, both by one and the other."*

LETTER 430.

*Kew, Dec. 27th, 1777. 30 min. pt. 9 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—The letters from Mr. Wentworth are wrote with so little method, and are so verbose, that it is very difficult to collect all that he wishes to convey. Mr. Eden is the very opposite; he writes a short, clear, and intelligent style, and has stated all that is necessary.

I cannot help expressing some surprise that so many of the Cabinet have doubted of the propriety of bring-

* Mrs. Inchbald's Preface to the 'Heiress.'

ing the unhappy fate of Lt.-G. Burgoyne's expedition to an enquiry, though I thought there might be a diversity of opinions as to the mode and extent of such enquiry; in the state of it yesterday I think Lord G. Germain judged right in not for the present moment pressing the affair farther.

The renewal of the proposal of raising a regular corps of Canadians by Mr. de St. Luc and Capt. Toy is very natural at this time, and I should wish to see it drawn up on paper; but I am certain you will not chuse to take any division [sic] on it till Lt.-G. Haldimand returns from Switzerland, which will be towards the end of next month.

D. Hamilton has been with Ld. Barrington, and is to send through him his list of officers the end of next week. I doubt that either Lt.-Col. Hamilton of the Scotch Fuzillears, or Ld. Spencer Hamilton of the Coldstream Regt. of Guards, will chuse to quit their present commissions for the command of that new-raised corps, as they cannot possibly acquire any rank, and will only have the advantage of the cloathing; besides Lt.-Col. Hamilton, unless exchanged, cannot serve in America, where all these new corps must be sent.

Letter 431.

* Kew, Dec. 28th, 1777. 57 min. pt. 11 a.m.

Lord North,—The letter from Mr. Wentworth has certainly a very unpleasant appearance, though I cannot think it of so certain a nature as to look upon a war with the House of Bourbon as inevitable.

I consent to the appointing Dr. Ross Bishop of Exeter, Mr. Dampier Prebend of Durham (provided he

continues to attend the young Chancellor), Mr. Harley Dean of Windsor, and Dr. Foley Dean of Worcester. You will order the necessary instruments to be prepared for my signature.

As to the proposals for raising new corps, I will examine them, but am sorry to tell you there are two proposals in the Liverpoole one, that I can never agree to, the giving Capt. Stanley the rank of Lieut.-Col., and the letting Capt. Poole sell out and then appointing him Major to that corps; it would be very difficult to give the former the rank of Major, more is impossible. I will certainly return those papers to-morrow.

Gazette, Jan. 6, 1778: "The King has been pleased to order his "congé d'élire to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter for the election "of a Bishop for that see, the same being void by the death of "Dr. Frederick Keppel, and to recommend the Rev. Dr. John Ross "to be by them elected; Hon. and Rev. John Harley to be Dean of "Windsor and Wolverhampton, and Registry of the Garter annexed, "void by the death of the late Bishop of Exeter; Rev. Robert Foley, "D.D., to be Dean of Worcester." And in Feb.: "Thomas Dampier, "clerk, to the twelfth prebend in the Cathedral Church in Durham."

For "Liverpoole" see note to Letter 420. H. Walpole ('Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 174) says, "Liverpool *attempted* to raise a "thousand men for the King."

Letter 432.

Kew, Dec. 29th, 1777. 40 min. pt. 9 a.m.

Lord North,—I detained your box till this morning that I might re-examine the proposals concerning raising new levies. The D. of Gordon was supposed to assist Col. W. Gordon, and for that reason he has got a beating order; as to his supporting another corps, it would be defeating the other; besides, I can never think of giving Lord W. Gordon the rank of Lieut.-

Col.; his first coming into the army was on the raising Mr. G. Morris's corps, with which he never served; he had for a short time a company in the 25th Regiment; not liking attending his duty, he sold out while the regt. was at Minorca, therefore has not the smallest claim to military rank, and has been told so in my name by Ld. G. Germain.

I yesterday mentioned that I can never think of giving Capt. Stanley the rank of Lieut.-Col. The utmost that I could be brought to, and that reluctantly, would be that of Major; Capt. Poole cannot sell his company, and be appointed Major. Though you are not a military man, you can easily see what a strange medley this Liverpool regiment will be unless some officer of experience is put at the head of it to train and discipline the corps; the gentleman proposed to command it is in America, consequently cannot be concerned in it if he had any knowledge; the Major is in the same situation as to the absence.

By an unwearied attention to the services of officers I flatter myself I have their goodwill, which would be totally destroyed if I was giving way to every job that noblemen are wishing for their relations, not the service of their country.

Indeed, with the six corps to be raised in Scotland and the Manchester and Liverpool regiments, we shall have 8000 men, which is as much as we can possibly raise in addition to compleating the present existing corps, which is an ample [answer?]. to all those who bring proposals. I do not say anything in particular concerning that of Col. Burgoyne, which is objectionable in every part, and has more the appearance of a scheme to pay his own debts than a proposal formed by an officer.

Letter 433.

* Kew, Dec. 31st, 1777. 30 min. pt. 9 a.m.

Lord North,—I am glad you have at length found a minute to steal to Bushy, as I am certain you must require a little relaxation, from which I by no means wish to draw you this day. I cannot say I look upon intelligence from Mr. Wentworth with more degree of certainty than as it is confirmed by others; he is an avowed stockjobber, and therefore, though I approve of employing him, I never let that go out of my mind. I cannot say his dispatch, which I return, contains anything to build upon, but it convinces me that Bancroft is entirely an American, and that every word he used on that occasion was to deceive; perhaps they think Mr. Wentworth has been sent from motives of fear, and, if that is Franklin's opinion, the whole conduct he has shewn is wise, and to me it unravels what otherways would appear inexplicable.

The allusions in several of the immediately preceding Letters to the movements and feelings of the French Court at this period are necessarily obscure, in the absence of the despatches sent to the King or Lord North by Messrs. *Paul Wentworth*, *Forth*, and *Weir*. Perhaps, therefore, a short sketch of what was taking place at Versailles or Passy at this juncture may help to afford some clue to the advices laid before the King or Lord North. The September, October, and November of 1777 had been anxious months for the American envoys in Europe. Steady if not brilliant success on the part of the insurgents was indispensable for any open adoption of their cause by France or Spain. But the naval triumphs they had gained by privateering in British waters were now at an end. The mouth of the Loire was blocked up by a strong force of British men-of-war. Of the privateering Captains, Wickes was drowned, Hammond, Johnson, and Nicholson were prisoners, and Conyngham had at length been driven from the narrow seas. Of Burgoyne and Sir William Howe no tidings of any importance had arrived, and the envoys were speculating gloomily upon the event of battles

fought between regular and irregular troops. The occupation of Philadelphia by the English was felt to be a heavy blow both as regarded the seat of war itself and the prospect of assistance from the French Government. Again, the funds supplied by Congress to its agents were running very low. They had a certain state to maintain as the representatives of a now independent people, and they were surrounded by a hungry crew of contractors, clerks, servants, and military or naval officers, whose wages or wants brooked not of delay.

Under these circumstances they once more laid the state of their affairs before the French King, and renewed their solicitations that he would acknowledge the independence of the United States, and grant them a loan of fourteen millions of francs. A *mémoire* to this effect was presented to the Count de Vergennes on the 25th of September.

On the 1st of October the envoys received a private message from that Minister. He had not laid the *mémoire* before his Majesty: he thought the loan a great demand: he said that the proposed recognition of independence would embroil France, and perhaps affect Europe, without materially benefiting America. Some reproof also was conveyed in the message. The envoys were unguarded: Lord Stormont knew of the *mémoire*, and had spoken about it to M. de Maurepas. France must be excused for the present from giving overt countenance to the insurgents. About the beginning of November there was a little relaxation of terms. The King of France might be induced to lend Congress three millions of francs, and would try to persuade his good brother of Spain to be equally liberal. His Majesty would also take off their hands a frigate which the envoys were building in Holland, with but small chance indeed of being able to pay for it, or when paid for of getting it safely into a French port. As late as the 27th of November things wore a gloomy aspect. On that day the envoys met at Dr. Franklin's house at Passy. Silas Deane desponded; Arthur Lee raised all manner of difficulties; Franklin bated not a jot of heart or hope, and repeated his conviction that the United States could maintain the contest without any help from Europe. Let France be ever so timid or untoward, the Colonists must persevere. He even went so far as to maintain that "the less commerce or dependence we have "upon Europe, the better, for we shall do better without any con-"nection with it!"

Seven days after this dismal conference arrived the news of Burgoyne's surrender (see note to Letter 419). The fashion of the countenance of M. de Maurepas and the Count de Vergennes immediately changed. On the 6th of December—the news had reached

Passy on the 4th—"M. Gerard, Secretary of the King's Council and "Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, called upon the envoys at "Passy with messages of the first importance. The Count de Ver- "gennes, he said, had directed him to convey to the envoys his "congratulations on the victory, and to assure them that the tidings "of it had given great pleasure at Versailles. The King would be "glad to have further particulars of the recent events, and he as- "sured them that they might now depend upon the three millions "of francs from Spain. But the grand object of his visit was to "say, that, as there could no longer be a reasonable doubt of the "ability of the States to maintain their independence, it was desired "at Versailles that the envoys should renew their proposals for an "alliance with France; and the sooner the better, in order that "there might be time to secure the concurrence of Spain, and to "prepare for the next campaign."[a]

The assurances received by the envoys of the friendly dispositions of foreign powers were much more sincere in December, 1777, than similar professions of amity transmitted through her ambassadors to England. The King of Prussia could not at present receive Mr. William Lee as accredited envoy of the United States; but he might, if he pleased, reside at Berlin as a private gentleman. Mr. Lee thought it would be better to wait until his credentials could be accepted. The Spanish Ambassador, the Count d'Aranda, was awaiting instructions from his Court, but, personally, wished to see Mr. Arthur Lee at Madrid. We remember perhaps that Mr. Lee was stopped at Burgos on his former visit to Spain. The Spanish Minister, Grimaldi, besides the Chronic delay of his court, had just then a cogent reason for hesitating to declare himself. The Spanish navy required repair, the silver-bringing ships had not arrived, and the English fleet was at sea. But the hour was not far distant for Gibbon to write to Holroyd (Feb. 23rd, 1778), "The two greatest "nations in Europe are fairly running a race for the favour of "America." Meanwhile American Commissioners were merely awaiting the permission of France to go to Vienna, Florence, Berlin, and Madrid. One more consequence of Burgoyne's surrender was that Paul Wentworth and other emissaries from England were sounding Silas Deane; "the English Ministry being disposed to "make peace and grant everything asked by Congress or its agents "except—Independence." Even on the 2nd of December Gibbon writes, "You will see that America is not *yet* conquered; Opposition "are very lively; and though in the House we keep our numbers,

[a] Parton's 'Life of Franklin,' vol. ii. p. 286.

"there seems to be an universal desire of peace, even on the humblest "conditions."

The movements of the French Ministry were probably quickened by the dread that the English Cabinet in its present disposition might outbid them, and so the chance of neutralising or avenging the Peace of Paris might slip through their fingers. So, on the 17th of December, "M. Gerard came with a message to Passy from the "King and Council, to the effect that it had been *decided* by the "French Government to conclude a treaty with the United States "and to maintain their independence—as soon as the courier re-"turned from Spain." The courier returned on the 6th of January following.

"If war with England should result, the French King would ask "no stipulation but this—that they should never make peace with "Great Britain except as independent states; the object of the "King being a just, mutually beneficial, and lasting connection with "America." To await the answer from the Spanish Court was a proper mark of respect for a brother Bourbon and an ally. "But "there was something more than respect in the delay. Spain must "adjust her quarrel with Portugal, pocket her ingots of Mexican "silver and Peruvian gold, and make her ships seaworthy, before "openly affronting England; and accordingly the alliance must be "kept, for the present, a profound secret." There can be little doubt that the English Ministry was aware of all these transactions, "though particular precautions were taken to conceal these inter-"views at Passy from British spies." Good *Dr. Bancroft* alone rendered these precautions superfluous.[a]

There can be little doubt that the Opposition were not kept in the dark, though they may not have been fully informed of these proceedings. At no period since his departure from England in March, 1775, had Franklin discontinued correspondence with Earls Chatham and Shelburne. Some reticence, indeed, was probably observed on the subject of independence, since Chatham always recoiled from the idea of dismembering an empire which he had been so instrumental in forming. The Earls may possibly not have imparted the communications from Passy to the Rockingham Whigs,

[a] The secrecy of these meetings is almost as amusing as the confidential dialogue of the sentinels in 'The Critic.' "On the 12th of December occurred "the appointed conference with the "Comte de Vergennes. On reaching "Versailles the envoys repaired to "some friendly covert at a distance "from the palace, and sent word to "M. Gerard that they awaited his "pleasure. A hackney coach, con-"ducted by one of M. Gerard's servants, "soon drove up; and, receiving the "Americans, conveyed them to a house "half a mile out of town, where they "found both the minister and the "secretary." Parton, ib. p. 288.

since there was little cordiality between these sections of Opposition. We find, however, Lord Chatham broadly hinting in his speech on the 11th of December that the House of Bourbon was meditating some important and decisive blow near home. Let us now see what was the policy of Ministers at this crisis of a war which they had originally provoked, then dallied with, and now were straining the energies of the country to maintain. At the beginning of the Session (Nov. 18) Lord North declared that conquest was the moment for treating. On the 10th of December he announced that after the holidays he should lay before the House a plan for treating with the Americans. He trusted that "we have still force enough "to bring forwards an accommodation." The mention of "holidays" at such a moment justly exasperated the Opposition, and Burke and Fox told the Minister that he and his colleagues thought of nothing but keeping their places. This, as regarded Lord North himself, was untrue; but it was truly said of many of his colleagues. The Opposition protested strongly against adjourning for more than the Christmas week at a moment of such imminent danger. On the 11th of December a similar remonstrance against losing time was made by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Chatham; and Lord Suffolk was brutal enough to tell the latter that he only wanted the House to sit, "because he was sure he would be allowed to give "his advice nowhere else!" The House adjourned until the 20th of January.

Well might Lord Chatham on the 11th of December address a servile Senate and a blundering Ministry in the following terms:—

"At so tremendous a season it does not become your Lordships, "the great hereditary council of the nation, to neglect your duty: "to retire to your country-seats for six weeks, in quest of joy and "merriment, while the real state of public affairs calls for grief, "mourning, and lamentation, at least for the fullest exertions of "your wisdom. It is your duty, my Lords, as the grand hereditary "council of the nation, to advise your sovereign—to be the pro- "tectors of your country—to feel your own weight and authority. "As hereditary counsellors, as members of this House, you stand "between the Crown and the people: you are nearer the Throne "than the other branch of the legislature,—it is your duty to "supplicate and counsel, to surround and protect it: you hold the "balance,—it is your duty to see that the weights are properly "poised, that the balance remains even, that neither may encroach "on the other; and that the executive power may be prevented, "by an unconstitutional exertion of even constitutional authority, "from bringing the nation to destruction."——"A remonstrance, "my Lords, should be carried to the Throne. The King has been

" deluded by his Ministers. Either they have been imposed upon " by false information, or, from motives best known to themselves, " have given apparent credit to what they were convinced in their " hearts was untrue. The nation has been betrayed into the " ruinous measure of an American war by the arts of imposition, " by its own credulity, through the means of false hope, false pride, " and promised advantages of the most romantic and improbable " nature."

LETTER 434.

* Queen's House, Jan. 2nd, 1778.
25 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH was very rightly informed by Lord Barrington; I have declined accepting the proposal of Mr. Campbell and Mr. Johnes; most of their officers have never been in the army. I have directed Lord Barrington to encourage the raising independent companies in Wales; if Mr. Campbell's brother has obtained a Lieutenancy in America, to offer his brother a company for him provided he will furnish the men. Mr. Rice will I believe furnish two companies: in short, I hope to get men from Wales without burthening the half-pay with Captains who never were in the army.

LETTER 435.

* Queen's House, Jan. 3rd, 1778.
32 min. pt. 1 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I can in very few words explain my opinion on the Welsh companies I mean to raise. I have given Mr. Rice and other gentlemen of that country leave to raise companies for Welsh Lieutenants in the service; if Mr. Johnes wishes to do the same, he will have the same opportunity; which when raised

I shall form into a corps, and put proper field officers to the corps, whose merit will be a credit to the corps, not men taken merely to oblige individuals. What Ld. G. Germaine may have said I cannot answer for, but I ever objected to a corps almost entirely composed of men that had never been in the service; the Captains of these companies must have been Lieutenants, the Lieutenants Ensigns. The advancing Major Poole at once to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel will I fear hurt many good men; but should I consent to that, the gentlemen must understand that I shall appoint a Colonel from among those who have distinguished themselves in America, as I am to do for the Royal Manchester Volunteers.

The following is a list of the new intended corps sent from the Secretary of State's Office, Jan. 3.

72nd. (1) The Royal Manchester Volunteers; (2) Col. William Gordon's (brother to Lord Aberdeen); (3) Col. M'Kenzie's (Lord M'Leod); (4) Lieut.-Gen. Col. Commandant John M'Donnel's, now Major in the 71st; (5) Col. Francis M'Lean's, assisted by the Duke of Hamilton; (6) Col. James Murray's Athol Highlanders; (7) Lieut.-Col. John Campbell's Argyleshire Highlanders. Another battalion of 1000 men is forthwith to be added to Lord John Murray's regiment of Highlanders.

Letter 436.

* Queen's House, Jan. 7th, 1778.

Lord North,—However insidious the conduct of France may appear, it is pleasant to feel we are taking all the steps that would be necessary if it should end in a war, and my mind is perfectly prepared to meet what I should certainly think a very unhappy event, from the consciousness that I have scrupulously at-

tempted to avoid, and that without one single grievance France chuses to be the aggressor. I cannot say Lord Stormont's letters contain anything new, but Mr. Forth on this occasion writes without flowers, and the whole of his style seems to shew he expects a war.

I hope when you see Mr. Greville you will turn his thoughts from attempting to raise a new corps, and that his family will shew their zeal in heading a subscription and in personally exerting themselves to raise men in Warwickshire for compleating the army. Mr. Lascelles's account from Halifax is most agreable, and will be followed I hope by other towns in Yorkshire and by other counties; I hope Norfolk has this scheme only in view.

LETTER 437.

* Queen's House, Jan. 9th, 1778. 49 min. pt. 5 p.m.

I BELIEVE the idea of employing Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick* in North America never occurred to any one but Lord North's correspondent at Wilton; indeed, when that Lord was in waiting three weeks ago, he amused every one in the antichamber [sic] with asserting that proposals to that purpose were sent to that Prince, but I never dreamt his lively brain could have made him write to Lord North on that subject.

Lord G. Germaine surprised me this day by communicating a conversation he had had this morning with Mr. Doyley, who, as he alleged, had said he hoped, when the future plan of war was under considera-

* The King's brother-in-law. He was very soon to be otherwise engaged. On the 17th of the following March he led the 3rd division of the Prussian army into Austrian Silesia.

tion, it would be also well considered who should have the command, for that with the letters wrote from hence to the brothers[a] it was neither safe nor prudent to leave it with them; he would not explain to Lord George his reasons. I hope Lord North will see Doyley and draw this out of him, for I think it highly material that he and I ought to know the whole of this affair.

Letter 438.

Lord North to the King.

* Downing Street, Jan. 10th, 1778.

Lord North has, in obedience to His Majesty's command, examined Mr. D'Oyley as to his conversation with the Secretary of State, and finds that there has been a misapprehension of what he said, or at least meant to say, which, as far as Lord North can collect, is as follows: That it was not only necessary to be determined whether the two brothers should continue in the command, but, if it should be determined that they are to continue, it will be requisite, after the letters that have been written to them, to consider how to persuade them to remain in their present situation. Mr. D'Oyley alluded to the last letters from Lord G. G., which were so cold and dry in respect to Sir W. H.'s successes in Pensylvania, and left him in doubt as to his continuance in the command, which he thinks will have made him more fully bent upon quitting the command. Mr. D'Oyley says that he never thought it would be either *unsafe* or *imprudent* to leave Lord Howe and Sir William Howe at the head of the fleet and army, but the contrary; and Lord North supposes

[a] The brothers—Lord Howe and Sir William Howe.

that Lord George drew that inference from Mr. D'Oyley's expressions, which, as Mr. D'Oyley says, amounted to no more than this: That after the letters that had been written, it is necessary to consider how to persuade them to remain in the command, if it is intended that they should be continued in it.

Letter 439.

* Queen's House, Jan. 13th, 1778.
2 min. pt. 8 p.m.

Lord North,—I have read the very voluminous and undigested letters from Mr. Wentworth, whose productions I confess it is hard labour to wade through, from which I collect that he has been too precipitate in looking on a declaration of war as immediate, for things seem to be on the same uncertain ground as the last year: a trifle may any hour cause war to break out; and though the French Ministers wish to avoid it, yet they will not leave off their dealings with rebels, by which they every day may be drawn into what they do not desire.

It also appears from these letters that Franklin and Deane either have no power of treating, or that they are not enclined to furnish any lights how an accommodation can be effected; for whilst nothing short of independency will be accepted, I do not think there is a man either bold or mad enough to presume to treat for the mother country on such a basis. Perhaps the time may come when it will be wise to abandon all North America but Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas, but then the generality of the nation must see it first in that light, but to treat with Independence can never be possible.

I saw Lord Amherst yesterday, who, though [he] with every expression of duty, declined in fact, though out of decency, on being strongly pressed, he took time to consider, though [he] gave no room to expect he will accept. Thus I have done all I could to effect what the Cabinet unanimously thought the most desirable step.

What I have now to propose is, that without loss of time the mode of conducting the American war be deliberated upon, that Lord Amherst be examined at the Cabinet on the subject; he is clear that after the disaster of Burgoyne not less than an additional army to what is there at present of 40,000 men can carry on with any effect an offensive land war; that a sea war is the only wise plan; that the preventing the arrival of military stores, cloathing, and the other articles necessary from Europe, must distress them, and make them come into what Britain may decently consent to; that at this hour they will laugh at any proposition.

After the mode of war is settled, then the General who is to command; it will be difficult to get Sir W. Howe to remain, and not less so to get Ld. G. Germaine to act in such a manner towards him as will make the efforts of others not prove abortive on that head.

What is still more material to be settled is the plan on which Administration is to repell the different attacks of Opposition when Parliament meets, as to the calling for papers, the proposing enquiries, &c. This must be digested by you, and I hope is already so nearly ready that you may open the whole to the Cabinet when next it meets, and have a minute taken, that, when the debate [comes on] in both Houses on the state of the nation, from want of previous concert the conduct may not be opposite.

Letter 440.

Queen's House, Jan. 15th, 1778.
6 min. pt. m.

Lord North,—The address from Edinburgh is a very strong testimony of the zeal of that city, and as such I fear the plan cannot be changed without hurting the promoters of it. The immense number of new corps has given promotion to one part of my kingdom in preference to the rest. If the gentlemen would be persuaded to turn their proposal into compleating the old Scotch corps in the service, it would be much more advantageous, and I would contrive soon to get Major Dundas the rank of Lieut.-Col., which at bottom is the object of his relation; but if this cannot be effected without ill humour, I will accept of the corps, but I hope after that is done they will not be coming with a list of recommendations of officers, which will be throwing on a zealous measure the air of private interest, which would sully it.

It is impossible I could expect Lord North to be ready with answers for every absurd proposition Opposition may propose. I know his abilities and zeal are equal to any man's, but never dreamt that he was to be able to foresee what gentlemen may not as yet themselves have thought of. What I meant was, that the great outlines of measures should be settled before the Houses reassembled; that will prevent differences of conduct in material respects, which could only tend to confusion; small variations, though to be avoided when possible, are not certainly of much import, though they are unpleasant.

I hope Lord North will do his utmost to prevent the forming any more offers of new corps; they will, instead of being of utility, only perplex and totally anihilate

[sic] all chance of compleating the regular forces, which alone in time of need can be depended upon; particularly in England, the raising corps would be total destruction to the army. I hope care will therefore be taken to turn the idea of a Westminster regiment into a subscription for compleating the army at large.

I need not caution Ld. North to hear Sir Philip Gibbes without letting him go away impressed with his opinions, for, by the letter I received from Bushy the other [day], Sir Philip is known to be a doubtful character.

LETTER 441.

* Queen's House, Jan. 16th, 1778.
22 min. pt. 11 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I return the papers received from Mr. Wentworth. You look on me, and I believe with some truth, as not very much trusting to any of the accounts that come from Bancroft; he certainly is a stock-jobber, and is not friendly to England, and perhaps the conveyor is not less a dabbler in that commodity, and above all wishes to be thought active, and men of his cast are often credulous.

LETTER 442.

* Queen's House, Jan. 17th, 1778.
5 min. pt. 9 a.m.

THE opinion Lord North gave me on the enclosed papers from Sir Joseph Yorke coincides entirely with mine, and I have long thought that gentleman so thoroughly trained to business, that there are but very few situations he would not fill with the greatest credit, and one is sorry, when there is so great a dearth of able

men, he should be immured in the post of foreign political watchman at the Hague.

I am a little mortified that the plan of Halifax is so different from what we had just grounds to expect; and after we have trumpeted the handsome conduct of that corporation, it would be very unpleasant to accept their proposal in the present large extent. I desire you will therefore see Lord Barrington, and try whether some way cannot be found to bring it into some better shape.

I feared the City was not yet enough returned to sobriety to be persuaded heartily to support the cause, and therefore think the friends of Government would have acted wiser in adopting a public subscription unattended with the mortifying circumstance of a defeat in the corporation.

. On the day preceding the date of this letter a Court of Common Council was held at Guildhall, when a motion being made and question put, "That a *subscription* be forthwith opened under the "conduct of a Committee of this Court for the paying bounties "to such able-bodied men who shall present and enlist themselves "before the said Committee to serve in His Majesty's sea or land "service for the term of three years, or until the end of the present "war;" the same was resolved in the negative by a majority of 30 to 1.

A motion being made and question put, "That it is the opinion of "this Court, that to give any countenance to, or to be in any "manner instrumental in, the further continuance of the present "ruinous and destructive war, whilst offers of just and honourable "terms are withheld from America, will reflect dishonour on their "humanity, and in no wise advantage the commercial interests "of this great city;" the same was resolved in the affirmative.

"The same evening a meeting was held at the London Tavern "of several capital merchants, &c., when, Mr. Cornwall being voted "into the chair, a motion was made to open a *subscription* for raising a "sum of money for the purpose of enlisting a number of men for the "King's service; when it was unanimously agreed to, and 14,000*l.* has "been since subscribed. At a meeting of justices, freeholders, &c.,

"of the county of Middlesex, held at the Court-house in Wellclose "Square on the same day, a *subscription* for raising of men to serve "His Majesty in America was agreed to without dissension." See 'Ann. Register,' xxi. p. 162.

Parliament reassembled on the 22nd of January. "The absurd "propositions" of the Opposition (see Letter 439) were—

On the 22nd of January Charles Fox moved again for the instructions to Generals Howe and Burgoyne; and Sir Philip Jennings Clerke moved for an account of the number of troops raised by subscription, and for the names of the commanders.

On the 27th great complaints were made of the defects of the papers given in, and of the non-attendance of the American Secretary in his place, though he had come to town, and Lord North had promised that he should be present at the debate on Mr. Fox's motion.*

On the 2nd of February Mr. Fox, in Committee "on the state "of the nation," moved that no more troops be sent out of the kingdom.

In the Upper House, on the 23rd and 27th of January, the Earl of Abingdon made a motion for obtaining an opinion of the twelve judges on the legality of raising troops without the authority of Parliament; and on the 2nd of February the Duke of Richmond made a motion very similar in substance to that of Mr. Fox on the same day.

On the 29th [Thursday] the Duke of Richmond moved to have lists of the navy laid before the House on the Monday following.

For an abstract of the debates on these "propositions" see Adolphus, vol. ii. pp. 509-16.

The following extract from a letter of the Marquis of Rockingham to Lord Chatham ('Correspond.,' iv. p. 488) shows the objects to which the attention of the sounder portion of the Opposition was at this time directed—Jan. 21, 1778:—

"In general I find that all concur in thinking that the best "service which now can be done for the public is to point out and, "if possible, fully convince them of the impossibility of going on "with the war: to show them how much blood and treasure have "already been wasted; the present state of the army and navy, and

* These returns, when laid before the House, excited the greatest dissatisfaction. "They seem," says Lord Rockingham, writing to Lord Chatham, "evidently not intended clearly to "show what the real state is: and, in "some instances, the concealment appears very grossly. The Duke of "Richmond's idea is, that they should "be examined on the delivery in the "House, and that the person who delivers them should be questioned." 'Chatham Correspond.,' iv. p. 487.

" most particularly the miserable state of the funds; to point out " the weakness and inability with which the military operations " had been planned; and indeed the weakness and folly of every " measure which the Ministers have taken in this horrid war. The " gross inattention and mispenditure of the public money in various " instances will also, I hope, be made to appear very clearly. I " hear that the conduct of the French has begun again to alarm; " but nothing, as yet, seems to have had great effect."

LETTER 443.

Queen's House, Jan. 24th, 1778.
12 min. pt. 2 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—The reason Lord Barrington desired Mr. Dundas to carry the list of proposed officers for the Edinburgh regiment to you was from his having apprehended that the gentlemen who forwarded that business had intended to act in the same handsome manner as the Glasgow gentlemen, who recommended no officers; indeed, I thought you had from Sir Lawrence intimated it, but I suppose I misunderstood you. I will on Monday give this list to the Secretary-at-War to examine the dates of the commissions of the gentlemen, and then, when he has received my final orders, he shall see Mr. Dundas, and thus you shall not be troubled farther concerning this business. I do not recollect that you left the address with me.

I thoroughly approve of Mr. Burgoyne's succeeding Sir G. Osborne, and will grant him a leave of absence, so that he need not omit his commission in the Dragoons.

Letter 444.

* Queen's House, Jan. 31st, 1778.
25 min. pt. 1 p.m.

Lord North,—The letter I received from you the last evening was of so serious a nature that you cannot be surprised that I chose to deferr answering it untill this day.

I should have been greatly hurt at the inclination expressed by you to retire, had I not known that, however you may now and then be inclined to despond, yet that you have too much personal affection for me, and sense of honour, to allow such a thought to take any hold on your mind.

You must feel how very entirely I have confided in you since you have presided at the Treasury, how fairly you have been supported by your colleagues in the Administration, how sincerely you are loved and admired by the House of Commons, and how universally esteemed by the public; indeed, these reflections must rouze your mind, and enable you to withstand situations still more embarassing than the present.

You will remember that before the recess I strongly advised you not to bind yourself to bring forward a proposition for restoring tranquility to North America, not from any absurd ideas of unconditional submission my mind never harboured, but from perceiving that whatever can be proposed will be liable not to bring America back to a sense of attachment to the mother country, yet to dissatisfy this country, which has in the most handsome manner chearfully carried on the contest, and therefore has a right to have the struggle continued untill convinced that it is in vain.

Perhaps this is the minute of all others that you ought to be the least in a hurry to produce any plan

of that kind, for every letter from France adds to the appearance of a speedy declaration of war; should that event happen, it might perhaps be wise to strengthen the forces in Canada, the Floridas, and Nova Scotia; withdraw the rest from North America, and without loss of time employ them in attacking New Orleans, and the French and Spanish West India possessions. Success in those parts would repay us the great expences incurred: we must at the same time continue destroying the trade and ports of the rebellious colonies, and thus soon bring both contests to a conclusion; and this country, having had its attention diverted to a fresh object, would be in a better temper to subscribe to such terms as Administration might think advisable to offer America, who on her part will at such a time be more ready to treat than at the present hour.

I do not mean by this to reject all ideas of your laying, if a foreign war should not arise this session, a proposition before Parliament; but I trust you will first fully state to the Cabinet your ideas, where I am persuaded you will find every member willing with candour to examine them, after which you will lay the result before me; and when the whole is thoroughly [prepared?], shew it to the principal men of business of the House of Commons, both in office, and those of weight with the country members, that the House may not, as on a former occasion, from want of previous notice be staggered, and persons oppose from not understanding the subject before them.

As this is the first of several letters in which the King urges Lord North not to desert him, I annex to it an anecdote supplied to me by the Hon. and very Rev. Dean of Windsor:—

"When I was a very young man, just at the time when the

" disturbances in France were commencing, it was my good fortune " to live a great deal in Lord North's family.

" The reflections by Mr. Burke on what was passing in France " were then published. I, being with Lord North in his house in " Oxfordshire, read to him, then stone blind, one of Mr. Burke's " recently published works. In the work which I read there was a " passage commenting upon North for his conduct towards America. " I was interrupted by Lord North, who exclaimed, 'Mr. Burke did " not know, but I knew, that year after year I entreated to be " allowed to resign, but I was not allowed, and was earnestly " entreated to remain."—Charles Arbuthnot, 13th January, 1843.

The foundations of the North Ministry were sapped by the unfortunate turn of the American war. Their majorities in both Houses indeed continued large; but the country party began to hesitate in their support of this ruinous contest, to look with some dismay on increasing taxation, and to distrust the abilities or the honesty of the present rulers.[a] That some internal changes in the Cabinet were meditated at this time by the Court party there is no reason to doubt: they felt that strength must be obtained by some means, even if it were by a slight infusion of the Whigs. As little reason is there to question that, had Opposition been now united, they could have effected in 1778 the change of government which they tardily enforced in 1782. The King's tenacity of purpose averted the downfall of the Tories, and protracted a war destined to end even more ignominiously for this country than it would have done had peace been proclaimed immediately after the surrender at Saratoga.

The conduct of Lord Chatham at this period is obscure.[b] Again we have to ask why he did not join the Rockingham Whigs? Between him and them there was only one point of debate—the independence of the United States; and we cannot conceive so shrewd an observer, now that his majestic intellect was again unclouded, to have been still unaware that independence was actually won. Repeatedly had he declared that we could not conquer America, that we had no right to tax America, that the war was flagitious in object and in conduct, that the Ministry was weak, that the King was deluded by them, and that war with the two greatest of European powers was im-

[a] Tories, on American questions, began to vote in the minority. 'Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 168.

[b] See 'Chatham Correspond.' iv. pp. 484-509, for the general demand for the Earl's return to office; for his despondency as to the condition of England,—"I hold on without gout hitherto; " perhaps I shall last as long as Great " Britain," Jan. 14; for his certainty of war with France at least; and his coolness to Lord Rockingham. Comp. Lord Mahon, vi. p. 212.

minent. Yet Chatham stood moodily aloof from the only allies, beside a few personal friends, he had in Parliament, and for a word, or rather a shadow, denied them the aid of his name, authority, and eloquence.[a]

The estimation in which Lord Chatham was held suffered little if any abatement from his long seclusion. Mr. George Grenville was applauded when he told the Commons, on the 11th of February in this year, "If there be a man who has served this nation with "honour to himself and glory to his country; if there be a man who "has carried the arms of Great Britain triumphant to every quarter "of the globe, and that beyond the most sanguine expectations of "the people; if there be a man of whom the House of Bourbon stands "more peculiarly in awe; if there be a man in this country who "unites the confidence of England and America, is he not the pro-"per person to treat with America? There is not one present who "is ignorant to whom I allude. You all know that I mean a noble "and near relation—LORD CHATHAM."[b]

The American General Gates, in a letter to the Earl of Thanet written soon after the convention of Saratoga, and dated "Albany, "October 26, 1777," echoes the words of Mr. G. Grenville:—

"Born and educated in England, I cannot help feeling for the "misfortunes brought upon my native country by the wickedness "of that Administration who began and have continued this most "unjust, impolitic, cruel, and unnatural war. The dismemberment "of the empire, the loss of commerce, power, and consequence among "the nations, with the downfall of public credit, are but the begin-"ning of those evils that must inevitably be followed by a thousand "more, unless timely prevented by some lenient hand, some great "state-physician, with the firmness, integrity, and abilities of a "*Chatham*, joined to the wisdom and justice of a Camden, aided and "supported by such men as your Lordship. Such a man, so supported, "may yet save the sinking state, by confirming that independency "which the people of this continent are resolved to part with but "when they leave this world. Such a man will do what all wise "statesmen have done before him. He will be true to the welfare "and interest of his country; and by rescinding the regulations "passed to support that system which no power on earth can

[a] In the debate on the Conciliatory Bills, February 17 (see Letter 450), Lord Hillsborough, late Secretary for America, and Lord Temple, Chatham's brother-in-law, took the high prerogative ground, and declaimed against the Bills as a most disgraceful capitulation. Lord Shelburne declared his full accordance with Lord Chatham, and expressed "the strongest disapprobation of every idea that tended to "admit the independence of America."

[b] 'Chatham Correspond.,' iv. p. 506.

" establish, he will endeavour to preserve so much of the empire in " prosperity and honour as the circumstances of the times, and the " maladministration of those who ruled before him, have left to his " government."

LETTER 445.

* Queen's House, Feb. 2nd, 1778.
2 min. pt. m.

LORD NORTH,—The extracts you have enclosed from letters written to Mr. Wentworth from France are certainly of great importance.

Though Lord Chatham's name (which was always his greatest merit) is undoubtedly not so great as formerly, yet it will greatly hurt Lord Rockingham's party with many factious persons to see that he disavows the unjustifiable lengths they would go in favour of America, and will therefore prove a fortunate event to the introducing into Parliament the proposal you intend to make of new arranging the Commission, encreasing the power of the Commissioners, and getting rid of some Acts of Parliament that are in the present state of affairs a barr [sic] to forming any solid reconciliation with that country.

As I look upon the recall of G. Howe as a measure settled, it is natural to expect that Lord Howe will also beg to return home; but that, though expected, cannot be publickly looked upon as certain, therefore he must be named in the new Commission; but if he comes home, I think neither the General nor Admirals in America need be in the Commission, but Peers and Commoners from hence. As your mind must be fully employed, I will not detain you longer on this occasion.

LETTER 446.

* Queen's House, Feb. 2nd, 1778.
10 min. pt. 10 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I trust that when next the Committee on the State of the Nation is resumed, gentlemen will be more ready to speak. As you of course must wait for the conclusion of it, I should think on such an occasion Lord G. Germaine might with great propriety have said a few words to put the defence in motion.

A motion on "the State of the Nation" was made by Mr. Fox. In a speech of two hours and forty minutes he recapitulated the events, history, and misconduct of the war. The Ministers made no reply, but called for "Question," which was rejected by 94. The largeness of the minority (165) alarmed the Ministers!

Fox, in a letter to Mr. Fitzpatrick, then in America, gives the following account of the debate on February 2nd:—

"What the Ministers intend doing besides keeping their places, "upon which they are very decided, I cannot even guess. They know "as little how to make peace as war. In short, they are as completely "at a *nonplus* as people can be; but they still keep a great majority, "though we begin to increase considerably: we divided last night "(2nd February, on motion for State of Nation) 165 to 259, which "is certainly a very good division compared with the past, but a "very bad one in my mind considering the circumstances of the "country. I made the motion in a very long speech, in which "I went over the whole of the American business, and I really "thought the House went a good deal with me in most of it. . . . . "We had several Tories with us, and I really think it was a great "day for us. The Ministry, not by concert, but, I believe, by acci- "dent, did not say one word, which scandalised even their own "friends a good deal, as I had opened the affairs so very fully. "They now pretend to say that Ellis and Wedderburne were up "(I did not see them), and, while they were complimenting one an- "other, the question was put. The fact is, that it is such a cause as "no man can defend well, and therefore nobody likes to attempt it." ('Correspondence of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 168.)

Letter 447.

* Queen's House, Feb. 3rd, 1778.
44 min. pt. 2 p.m.

Undoubtedly if the intelligence sent by Benson is founded, France has taken her part, and a war with G. Britain must soon follow.

I enclose a very suitable letter from Lord Barrington as to the raising men in case that measure should be thought advisable at this hour. I perfectly agree with him that, though from old habits in Scotland corps may be the best method in that part of the kingdom, that it does not in the least hold as to Ireland, and that what the Secretary at War proposes is much fairer to the army, and if tried will certainly answer the purpose.

The Volunteers in Ireland at this time were making strenuous efforts, in spite of the efforts of the English Government to obstruct them, to restore the trade injured by the American war, and to recover the liberties of their country. For a statement of Irish grievances in 1778, see the Lord-Lieutenant's letters to Lord North in 'Memoirs of Grattan,' vol. i. pp. 288–307.

Letter 448.

* February 5th, 1778.

Lord North,—It appears to me very essential that you should be thoroughly apprized of the language held by Lord George Germaine on your plan for opening a negotiation with America: he said this day unto me that he was convinced the repeal of the Boston Charter Act would not alone bring the Colonies into any propositions; that the Declaratory Act, though but waste paper, was what galled them the most; that he

should not like nominally to be drove to repealing it; therefore, if any step was to be taken at this hour, he would wish it might be such as might not require any farther concessions; he therefore wished all the Acts might be repealed subsequent to 1763; that he would fairly owne the taking any step at this juncture might either be conducive to hurrying France into a treaty with the rebels, or it might make the Colonies less inclined to treat with that insidious nation; that he could not decide which seems most probable.

Yet at the close of the debate on Lord North's Conciliatory Bills (Feb. 17) Lord George took to himself the credit of the pacific proposition. Truly, as Jaques says, "There is much matter in these "*convertites*."

LETTER 449.

* Queen's House, Feb. 7th, 1778.
20 min. pt. 9 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I had flattered myself that the long debates of Wednesday and Thursday would have inclined all parties in the House of Commons to have ended the last night at a more seasonable hour.

"Last night." Burke made the House very merry on the subject of Burgoyne's invitation to Indians; "drew iron tears down" Barré's "cheeks" by his pathos. His speech was three hours and a half long. Sir George Savile said to many of his friends, "He who did "not hear that speech has not witnessed the greatest triumph of "eloquence within memory." See Prior's 'Life of Burke,' p. 173, 5th ed., Bohn.

Letter 450.

* Queen's House, Feb. 9th, 1778.
5 min. pt. 9.

Lord North, — The intelligence communicated by Mr. Wentworth, if certain, shews the veil will soon be drawn off by the Court of France, which makes me wish you would not delay bringing your American proposition, after proper communications to the leading persons, into the House of Commons; and should a French war be our fate, I trust you will concurr with me in the only means of making it successful, the withdrawing the greatest part of them [the troops] from America, and employing them against the French and Spanish settlements; but if we are to be carrying on a land-war against the rebels and against those two powers, it must be feeble in all parts and consequently unsuccessful.

In comparing this letter with a former one (Jan. 31) it appears that Lord North had originally proposed some plan for conciliation unpalatable to the King, and that his Lordship in expressing a wish to retire had urged the impracticability of obtaining unconditional submission, which he supposed to be the King's determined object. Yet now that it appeared war with France had become inevitable, his Majesty expresses his anxiety that Lord North should at once bring forward his "proposition."

Letter 451.

* Queen's House, Feb. 17th, 1778.
39 min. pt. 10 p.m.

Lord North,—I sincerely rejoice that the measures proposed by you this day have passed without any division, and I trust this beginning will prevent your

meeting with much difficulty in the farther steps of this affair.[a]

Lord Chancellor this day wrote to Lord Suffolk to notify his having declined any farther attending confidential meetings, and returned the key to the correspondence boxes. Upon which I wrote to Lord Suffolk to go to him and point out the mistake which had occasioned his warmth. I have just received from him an account that the Lord Chancellor has consented to take back the key, that he expresses great esteem for all the members of the Cabinet except Lord G. Germaine. I hope you will to-morrow see Ld. G. G. and settle the transmitting a proper account of the propositions to America, and a suitable letter to Sir W. Howe that may encourage him to act with spirit untill the arrival of his successor.

The measures are Lord North's Conciliatory Bills. The first was entitled, "For removing all Doubts and Apprehensions concerning "Taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the Colo- "nies." It repealed expressly and by name the duty on tea in America. The second Bill was to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners to treat with the insurgent Colonies. There was no "division," but there was a sharp debate. The Opposition could not decently resist proposals so consonant to their own opinions, but they gave their reluctant support as ungraciously as possible.

Of the debate on the Conciliatory Bills we have the account of one, perhaps of two persons who were present, Gibbon and Burke, since it is probably Burke's pen which chronicles the 17th of February in the 'Annual Register,' xxi. p. 133.

The historian writes to Holroyd on the 23rd February, 1778:—

"You probably know the heads of the plan: an Act of Parliament "to declare that we never *had* any intention of taxing America; "another Act to empower the Crown to name Commissioners author- "ised to suspend hostilities by sea and land, as well as all obnoxious "Acts; and, in short, to grant everything except independence.

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[a] The attempt to conciliate or cajole the Americans.

"Opposition, after expressing their doubts whether the lance of "Achilles could cure the wound which it had inflicted, could not "refuse their assent to the principles of conduct which they them-"selves had always recommended. Yet you must acknowledge "that in a business of this magnitude there may arise several im-"portant questions, which, without a spirit of faction, will deserve "to be debated: Whether Parliament ought not to name the Com-"missioners? Whether it would not be better to repeal the ob-"noxious Acts ourselves? I do not find that the world—that is, "a few people whom I happen to converse with—are much inclined "to praise Lord N.'s ductility of temper. While we consider "whether we shall negotiate, I fear the French have been more "diligent. It is positively asserted both in private and in Parlia-"ment, and not contradicted by the Ministers, that on the 5th of "this month a treaty of commerce (which naturally leads to a war) "was signed at Paris with the independent States of America."

"A dull melancholy silence" (I am now citing from the 'Annual Register'*) "for some time succeeded to Lord North's speech. It "had been heard with profound attention, but without a single "mark of approbation to any part, from any description of men, "or any particular man in the House. Astonishment, dejection, "and fear overclouded the whole assembly. Although the Minister "had declared that the sentiments he expressed that day had been "those which he always entertained, it is certain that few or none "had understood him in that manner; and he had been represented "to the nation at large as the person in it the most tenacious of "those parliamentary rights which he now proposed to resign, and "the most remote from the submissions which he now proposed to "make. It was generally therefore concluded that something more "extraordinary and alarming had happened than yet appeared, "which was of force to produce such an apparent change in "measures, principles, and arguments."

"Some unlucky quotation," writes Lord Hardwicke on the 20th of February, "is always hatching in my head. You heard a certain "*conciliatory* speech the other day, which I did not, being confined "with a cold; it is Turnus to Æneas:—

> —— 'Vicisti et victum tendere palmas
> Ausonidæ vidêre.'"

—'Mem. of Rockingham,' vol. ii. p. 346.

* "A long and eloquent speech which kept him full two hours up."—P. 133.

Letter 452.

* Queen's House, Feb. 18th, 1778.
34 min. pt. 9 a.m.

Lord North,—The long letter you received yesterday from the Lord Chancellor was so full of ungrounded suspicion and warmth, that I thought it best not to return it unto you untill I could learn from Lord Suffolk what had past at the dinner on Saturday. It was impossible I could see him till late the last evening on account of the debate in the House of Lords, and therefore I judged it best to desire him to go and state the affair to you if possible last night. I totally agree with the second letter I received in the evening from you, that Lord George Germain ought to have wrote less coldly to Sir W. Howe, though he conveyed unto him the permission to return home; but it is not too late to remedy this, for the 'Andromeda,' a new copper-bottomed ship, is ordered to be ready to carry to America the result of your propositions. It would be highly proper that Lord G. Germaine should by this conveyance communicate to the General the idea of changing the plan of war, which he may very properly attribute to the opinion I have of the General, and his having intimated that on the present mode, and with his present force, he could only the next campaign maintain what he has now in his possession, but leaving the General a latitude to do what may seem to him most eligible untill the arrival of Sir H. Clinton or some other successor.

I trust, if Lord G. Germaine writes to the General agreably to this idea, that it will cost you very little conversation to remove any suspicions of the Lord Chancellor.

I return Mr. Forth's letter, which I think much the

clearest I have ever read from that correspondent. The conduct of France seems most strange. War is the object of the young officers, to avoid [it] the wish of the Minister; yet he will run so near the wind that most probably the two nations will be involved. Spain by the letters of yesterday seems not to expect it at present, for Count Florida Blancha has notified to Lord Grantham that Mr. Almodovar is nominated to succeed Prince Masserano, and that he is to leave Madrid by the beginning of next month.

I am desirous of knowing how this day's debate is supported; for as to numbers, I do not in the least fear that they will prove highly honorable to you; and therefore I wish it may be shewn that the efficient men in the House of Commons have zealously supported by their speeches what will have been proposed from no other view but a wish to serve both countries. I cannot conclude without warmly expressing my sentiments, that your conduct is always actuated by a desire of effecting those laudable and very compatible objects.

In the Lords also the debate on the Conciliatory Bills passed without division, but the Duke of Richmond, Lord Temple, and the Earl of Shelburne handled Administration very roughly, and the Duke of Grafton put the same question to them which Mr. Fox had propounded in the Lower House—namely, whether they knew of anything between France and the United States. In the Commons Lord North acknowledged that such a treaty was in agitation; in the Lords Lord Weymouth said, less ingenuously, he knew nothing of the matter—"had received no authentic information of any such "treaty being in existence or contemplation!"

Lord George Germaine had embroiled himself in quarrels with the chief officers under his direction in the American service. On October 22, in the year preceding, Sir William Howe had written to him as follows:—"From the little attention, my Lord, given to "my recommendations since the commencement of my command, "I am led to hope that I may be relieved from this very painful

" service, wherein I have not the good fortune to enjoy the neces-
" sary confidence and support of my superiors, but which I conclude
" will be extended to Sir Henry Clinton, my presumptive successor,
" or to such other servant as the King may be pleased to appoint.
" By the return, therefore, of the packet, I humbly request I may
" have his Majesty's permission to resign the command." On the 4th of February Lord George wrote to Sir William announcing the desired permission from his Majesty, and at the same time directing him to deliver his orders and instructions to Sir Henry Clinton as his successor. (Lord Mahon, vi. p. 219.) Sir William's complaints were of the disproportion between the promises and performances of the American Secretary. He had pressed for and been led to expect large reinforcements; he had been allowed to frame his plans in the hope of receiving them, and either none or next to none had been sent to him, or they had been diverted to Canada or the Lakes for the benefit of Carleton and Burgoyne.

Letter 453.

*Queen's House, Feb. 24th, 1778.
40 min. pt. 5 p.m.

Lord North,—The letter transmitted to you by Major Ackland, enclosing the copy of the one he had wrote to Lord Howe, is highly important, as it contains the seeds of great heartburnings as well as distress in the rebellious colonies, which I am persuaded would have greatly encouraged the idea of such a proposition as has been made, had it arrived before you had taken that step.

By a letter from the Commissionary at Dunkirk, I find the French Court have stopped the Iceland and Newfoundland fishermen, which undoubtedly carries the appearance of immediate war; when once you have got the loan it may behove to talk a little more openly from these untoward appearances, but till then I think it is not necessary.

Letter 454.

* Queen's House, Feb. 24th, 1778.
13 min. pt. 9 p.m.

Lord North,—The House of Commons sate certainly much later than you had expected; but on the other hand, you have got the Bill into the Committee, which is a step farther than you had expected by what you mentioned yesterday unto me. In your note there was no list of the speakers, which if it can be made out I wish to see, as on this occasion many men will probably appear on sides they do not usually. The more I think on the conduct of the Advocate of Scotland,[a] the more I am incensed against him; more favours have been heaped on the shoulders of that man than ever were bestowed on any Scotch lawyer, and he seems studiously to embrace an opportunity to create difficulties; but men of tallents when not accompanied with integrity are pests instead of blessings to society, and true wisdom ought to crush them rather than nourish them.

Letter 455.

Queen's House, March 3rd, 1778.

Lord North,—I have very carefully read over Mr. Eden's papers concerning the commission, and very readily consent to his having 1000*l.* to enable him to fit himself for the business on which he is going to be employed; but do not think the Commissioners ought to be Privy Counsellors, and there is a very forcible reason against it. Sir Henry Clinton is in America, consequently cannot be called to the Privy Council;

[a] Mr. Dundas.

and I am persuaded you must see how bad an effect it would have the making the commander of the troops the *last* instead of the second in the Commission. When Mr. Eden knows I have instantly ordered the pecuniary assistance he has desired, it will convince him I approve of his accepting the offer you have made him of being one of the Commissioners. I am certain the making those gentlemen Privy Counsellors would give offence to many, and be of no utility; parade is not the object of the mission, but business.

The Commissioners were five in number. They are thus described by Lord Mahon, vi. p. 223:—"Lord Howe and Sir William "were included in the letters patent on the chance of their being "still in America when their colleagues should arrive. Of the new "Commissioners the first was to be Lord Carlisle, with him William "*Eden* and George Johnstone. It could not be alleged that the "selection of these gentlemen had been made in any narrow spirit "of party. George Johnstone, who retained the title of Governor "from having filled that post in Florida, was a member of the "House of Commons, and, as such, a keen opponent of Lord North's. "The brother of William Eden had been the last Colonial Governor "of Maryland. William Eden himself was a man of rising ability "on the Government side; in after years, under Mr. Pitt, ambassador "in succession to several foreign courts; and at last a peer with "the title of Lord Auckland. Frederick Howard, the fifth Earl of "Carlisle, was then only known to the public as a young and not "very thrifty man of fashion and of pleasure. Against his appoint-"ment, therefore, there were many cavils heard both in and out "of Parliament." See debate in the Lords, March 9, and in the Commons, November 26, 1778, for the Duke of Richmond's and Mr. Wilkes's comment on Lord Carlisle's appointment.

LETTER 456.

* Queen's House, March 3rd, 1778.
30 min. pt. 4 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I have received the box with the voluminous enclosures, which I shall return this even-

ing, and since that your note accompanying the enclosed note from Mr. Eden. I owne I think Lord G. Germaine's defection a most favourable event. He has so many enemies, that would have made him a heavy load whenever the failure of the expedition under Lt.-G. Burgoyne came to be canvassed in Parliament; yet I never would have recommended his removal unless with his own good will; now he will save us all trouble. The laying it on my bequeathing the Government of Charlemount on Carleton is quite absurd, and shews the malevolence of his mind.

Carleton was highly wrong in permitting his pen to convey such asperity to a Secretary of State, and therefore has been removed from the Government of Canada; but his meritorious defence of Quebec made him a proper object for a military reward, and as such I could not think of providing for any other general till I had paid the debt his services had a right to claim.

On the 4th of February Lord George had written to Sir William Howe that his Majesty had accepted his application to be recalled from America. "Yet within a month," writes Lord Mahon, vi. p. 219, "of that 4th of February, Lord George, in a sally of anger, "had himself resigned. The ground of his displeasure was, that "the King, anxious to reward the past services of a most deserving "officer, bestowed on Sir Guy Carleton the sinecure Government "of Charlemont, which Lord George chose to construe as an insult "to himself.

"These circumstances were not known to the public. But to "Lord North they clearly showed that his Administration at this "period was already unhinged by the impending loss of that member "of it next in importance to himself, as mainly charged with the "conduct of the American affairs. Herein may have lain a further "motive for his own retirement. But I have no doubt that the "reason which weighed principally with Lord North was that, con-"sidering the bitter resentment felt against him, whether rightly

" or wrongly, in America, any proposition of peace that he might " make would be fraught with new and unnecessary obstacles, and " afford a lesser chance of ultimate success."

LETTER 457.

* Queen's House, March 3rd, 1778.
50 min. pt. 6 p.m.

THE papers communicated by Mr. Thornton are very curious; those from Edwards and Forth convince me that France will inevitably go to war: it therefore becomes highly necessary to consider whether Lord Stormont should not soon complain of the open assistance now given by France to the rebels, which has drove us to the unpleasant necessity of visiting their merchant-ships in the open seas, and to demand a catagorical answer whether they have signed any treaty with the rebels; also whether Lord Grantham should not be directed to communicate this to Spain, and complain of the protection given to the rebel cruizers. If France on this takes off the mask, whether it ought not to be considered whether the season is too far advanced for an attack on the West India settlements of France, or whether to be delayed untill the autumn; in either case the troops for that service must be taken from North America. If Spain is not very explicit, a fleet must be stationed to seize the flotta coming from Havanna, and a corps of 2000 men to be sent by Sir Henry Clinton to conquer New Orleans.

A couple of regiments of foot must be sent to Ireland, and additional companies to them and the other regiments in that kingdom raised there to strengthen the forces in that island.

I write these thoughts hastily as they occurr, that

Lord North may have these various matters in his head for consideration; but untill the Budget is opened, and the American [Bills ?] passed, and the commissioners embarked, I think it wisest not to be in an hurry.

The Budget was opened on the 6th of March, and "Lord North's "financial resolutions were carried through the House of Commons, "involving a new loan of 6,000,000*l.*, which was contracted on "advantageous terms. Thus were funds provided to pursue the "war, should that be requisite. Thus was an opening made for "negociations, should they be practicable. In either case the path "was cleared for a new administration."—Lord Mahon, vi. p. 218.

LETTER 458.

* St. James's, March 6th, 1778.
53 min. pt. m.

THE intelligence from Mr. Thornton of the discontents among the leaders in America, if authentick, will not only greatly facilitate the bringing that deluded country to some reasonable ideas, but will make France reconsider whether she ought to enter into a war when America may leave her in the lurch.

Lord North is too well acquainted with money-lenders to be surprised at their availing themselves of the present minute to make as advantageous a bargain for themselves, as the necessities of the times make them in a great degree certain of obliging the Treasury to submit to.

This letter refers to the cabals against Washington during the winter of 1777–8. The American General was now encamped at Valley Forge, a desolate spot among the hills, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. "Here, amid a wilderness covered by frost and "snow, an encampment was cleared by the half-starved and half-"naked army. All Washington's representations as to the total

" inefficiency of his commissariat were, at this time, treated by " Congress with neglect, or answered with taunts for going into " winter-quarters at all.

" The truth is, that a faction, chiefly composed of representatives " from the Northern States, had lately been formed against that " illustrious man, to whose fortitude, perseverance, and integrity " his country was mainly indebted for the ultimate achievement of " their liberties. The object of this cabal was to supplant Washing- " ton and place Gates at the head of the army. The success of " Saratoga was of course the ground upon which Gates's pretensions " were placed. Attempts were made to detach Lafayette from his " connection with Washington, by offering him the command of a " meditated expedition against Canada." The intrigues were baffled by the patience and prudence of the object of them.—Massey, 'Hist. of England,' vol. ii. p. 291.

Letter 459.

* Queen's House, March 9th, 1778. 44 min. pt. 8 a.m.

Yesterday Lord Sandwich communicated unto me a letter he had received from Vice-Admiral Mann, containing, in direct though very civil terms, that his state of health disabled him from accepting a command with which he should otherwise have felt much honored. This obliged me to scan afresh the list of admirals, and I was glad to find that one had been that morning with Lord Sandwich to offer in the most ardent manner his services; it is Sir Charles Hardy, who, rather than not serve, would resign the government of Greenwich Hospital.

Sir Charles Hardy was second in command to Lord Hawke in the engagement with Conflans, therefore ostensible, and, Keppel and Lord Howe out of the case, certainly as fit as any one high enough on the list for so considerable a command. If you concurr in this, which I owne necessity makes me not reject, I propose

to insist on his taking an excellent Captain as Admiral's Captain, and to have Digby and Sir John Ross as Rear-Admirals under him: the merit of both of these is admitted by all the profession, and the advancing the latter will shew there is no mark against those who may have shewn heat on the late occasion, consequently will heal some of the evil that has arisen from this unhappy business. My sole object is to destroy the kind of mutiny in the corps, and I believe the mode proposed is what in the present situation will be the best that can be proposed. The Captain I allude to is Kempenfelt, a great friend of Lord Clarendon, much respected by all parties, and one well qualified to heal all little breaches. I wish you would see Lord Sandwich this day, and, after hearing what he has to say, form your opinion, that no time may be lost, and that I may to-morrow give Lord Sandwich some directions for putting things into a train.

LETTER 460.

Queen's House, March 9th, 1778.
58 min. pt. 11 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I return the communications from Mr. Wentworth and Mr. Thornton: the return of Deane is a very fortunate event, as it gives full time to the news transmitted in the 'Andromeda' to take effect, and I should naturally conclude may bring America to a state of tranquility.

I think it is right the Americans' Bills should be passed as soon as convenient; I therefore had intended to have gone to the House of Lords for that purpose to-morrow; but Lord Weymouth has just wrote that

the Chancellor says there is a Bill of great consequence that will be ready for my assent on Wednesday; I therefore shall defer going untill that day.

Mr. Gilbert's proposition seems wild, and I do not see how it can be brought into any state that may be in the least either reasonable or feesible.

Silas Deane left Paris on the night of March 31 : he was replaced by Mr. John Adams.

The American Bills received his Majesty's assent on Wednesday, March 11.

"Mr. Gilbert's proposition" was to lay a tax of twenty-five per cent. on places and pensions during war. A horrible proposition, considering the number of placemen and pensioners at this time! Mr. Gilbert's motion, however, was carried against Lord North. Sir G. Savile, Burke, Fox, and General Conway voted with the Ministry. According to the 'Annual Register,' xxi. p. 143, "the principal "members of the Opposition considered it as a measure which would "have been exceedingly distressing to individuals, without any "adequate public advantage."

Letter 461.

Queen's House, March 10th, 1778.
50 min. pt. 2 p.m.

If Mr. Thornton's communication to Lord North is certain, the present state of fluctuation will soon cease, and the old lion will be roused, and must show that resolution and activity that alone can keep his wonted station, and deserve the respect of other nations. I am certain war has not been sought by us, and therefore I shall do my utmost to withstand the malevolence of my foes. Would it not be right instantly to decide that the Manchester or Liverpool regiment shall as soon as compleat be sent to reinforce the garrison of Gibraltar instead of going to America? I should prefer

them to that service to an Highland corps, and therefore mention it at this time.

LETTER 462.

* Queen's House, March 12th, 1778.
5 min. pt. 9 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—By the list of speakers yesterday in favour of Mr. Fox's motion, I see Admiral Keppel took a part that will disappoint Lord Sandwich, he having uniformly pretended that the Admiral, though very adverse on all political points, is much of his opinion in marine affairs.[a]

You may remember that when Mr. Smelt retired from my service he made an application to me, that his uncle Mr. Cornelius Cayley might resign his place of Commissioner in the Alienation Office in favour of his son Edward Cayley; you wished instantly to make out the appointment, but I desired it might be deferred until he (Mr. Smelt) waited upon you before he went into Yorkshire; he happened not to find you at home, and your levees had ceased for that season. I desire you will now put this promise into execution.

" On the Inquiry into the State of the Navy, when Mr. Fox ex-
" posed the bad management of the Admiralty, and was very severe,
" and indeed contemptuous, to Lord North, Keppel said he preferred
" having a small fleet well fitted, to a large one badly equipped.
" On the 24th of March Keppel hoisted his flag on board the Prince
" George, the Victory being not yet ready to receive him. Instead of
" the noble fleet he had been led to expect, he found only six ships

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[a] See a letter of Admiral Keppel's to Lord Sandwich on "*marine affairs*," March 10, 'Life of Viscount Keppel,' vol. ii. p. 17. In spite of the "part he took," Keppel received his command of the Channel fleet on the 22nd of this month.

" of the line in any degree fit for service, a great scarcity of sailors, " and an almost total deficiency of stores and provisions. Yet only " a month before Lord Sandwich had boasted that the navy was " never in greater strength—thirty-five ships of the line ready for " sea and service, and seven more to be ready in a fortnight!"—Mem. of Viscount Keppel, vol. ii. p. 19.

LETTER 463.

Queen's House, March 13th, 1778.
46 min. pt. 10 p.m.

THE paper delivered this day by the French Ambassador is certainly equivalent to a declaration, and therefore must entirely overturn every plan proposed for strengthening the army under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Clinton with an intent of carrying on an active war in North America: what occurs now is to fix what numbers are necessary to defend New York, Rhode Island, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas: it is a joke to think of keeping Pensilvania, for we must from the army now in America form a corps sufficient to attack the French islands, and two or three thousand men ought to be employed with the fleet to destroy the ports and warfs [sic] of the rebels.

The Manchester regiment and 800 drafts from the American recruiting companies to be sent to strengthen Gibraltar.

I shall write every thought as it occurs in this slight manner to Lord North, that no time may be lost in taking the various matters into speedy consideration, which this event behoves us not to neglect.

" On the 13th of March the French Ambassador in London, the " Marquis de Noailles, delivered to the Secretary of State, Lord " Weymouth, a Note, formally announcing the Treaty of Friendship " and Commerce, as lately signed between France and the United

" States. That Note was couched in terms of irony, nay, almost of " derision. It remarked of the United States that they 'are in full " possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of " July, 1776;' and it thus proceeded:—'In making this communi- " cation to the Court of London, the King (of France) is firmly " persuaded it will find therein new proofs of his Majesty's con- " stant and sincere disposition for peace; and that his Britannic " Majesty, animated by the same sentiments, will equally avoid " everything that may alter their good harmony: and he will parti- " cularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between " his Majesty's subjects and the United States of North America " from being interrupted.' "—Lord Mahon, vi. p. 220.

LETTER 464.

** Queen's House, March 16th, 1778.
28 min. pt. 8 a.m.

MY DEAR LORD,—As you are now thoroughly apprised of the whole of my thoughts and feelings, you cannot want any explanation of my opinion of the language held to Mr. Eden the last evening; it is so totally contrary to the only ground upon which I could have accepted the services of that perfidious man that I need not enter more fully upon [it]. Lord Chatham as Dictator as planning a new Administration, I appeal to my letter of yesterday if I did not clearly speak out upon. If Lord Chatham agrees to support your Administration, or (if you like the expression better) the fundamentals of the present Administration, and Lord N. the head of the Treasury, Lords Suffolk, Gower, and Weymouth in great offices to their own inclinations, Lord Sandwich in the Admiralty, Thurloe Chan^r., and Wedderburne a Chief Justice, I will not object to see that great man when Lord Shelburne and Dunning, with Barré, are placed already in offices; but I solemnly declare nothing shall bring me to treat per-

sonally with Lord Chatham. What the D. of Northumberland told you yesterday is the old game over again; if I saw Lord Chatham, he would insist on as total a change as Lord Shelburne has yesterday thrown out. Therefore, my dear Lord, you will now understand that I entirely stick to what I wrote to you yesterday,[a] from which I will not change one jot.

LETTER 465.

Queen's House, March 16th, 1778.
45 min. pt. 10 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—So respectable a majority this day on a question for papers[b] that might naturally catch many is a very favourable event at the present moment. I have this day seen Admiral Keppel, who will very properly accept the command of the fleet proposed for the defence of the kingdom; he gave me the enclosed paper, with an apology that I might not attribute [it?] to any political manœuvre, but his genuine sentiments as a sailor; you will see by it he perfectly coincides with Lord Sandwich's language at Cabinet last night, that the greatest part of the frigates must be recalled from North America, and that what ships are left there must be collected at one place; I desire you will let me have the paper back to-morrow. I shall stay at home to-morrow morning, and will hear what Lord Amherst thinks on the possibility of keeping posts in America,

[a] Lord North's letter of the 14th March has not been preserved, or at least not been produced; its contents must therefore be inferred from this reply of the King's. For a commentary on this letter, see Lord Mahon, vi. p. 221.

[b] On a motion for Lord Stormont's correspondence, Mr. Burke, Mr. Dunning, and especially Mr. Fox, censured Lord North severely for ignorance of the proceedings at the French court since the preceding December. I doubt the minister's *ignorance*.

and what, whilst the French war lasts, and will desire him to be ready to attend your Cabinet to-morrow forenoon, when he may state his sentiments, and things be prepared, for we have not an hour to loose.

Letter 466.

Queen's House, March 16th, 1778.
10 min. pt. 11 p.m.

Lord North,—I am fully convinced that you are actuated alone from a wish not to conceal the most private corners of your breast in writing the letter you have just sent unto me; but, my dear Lord, it is not private pique, but an opinion formed on an experience of a reign of now seventeen years, that makes me resolve to run any personal risque rather than submit to Opposition, which every plan deviating from strengthening the present Administration is more or less tending to; therefore I refer you to the genuine dictates of my heart which I put yesterday on paper and transmitted to you; and I am certain, whilst I have no one object but to be of use to this country, it is impossible I can be deserted, and the road opened to a set of men who certainly would make me a slave for the remainder of my days; and whatever they may pretend, would go to the most unjustifiable lengths of cruelty and destruction of those who have stood forth in public office, of which you would be the first victim.

Lord Holland ('Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox,' vol. i. p. 211) remarks that "The King was willing to employ "any one who would concur with him in his efforts to reduce the "revolted colonies to obedience, but would not accept of the services "of Opposition, because the Opposition thought that object unat-

" tainable, and were ready to acknowledge the independence of the " United States. The result is, that it was the King at that period, " and the King only, who prevented a coalition of parties and peace " with America."

From this opinion Earl Russell (ib.) dissents. He says,—" I can- " not concur in this last remark. The King's determination to " carry on a war in all quarters of the globe could have had no " practical influence had not Lord North consented to remain " Minister, to carry on a war of which he disapproved, and had not " a majority of the House of Commons supported a system which " they believed in their hearts to be fraught with danger to the " country. The power of a single will was indeed conspicuous; but " the Constitution afforded ample means of overruling that will, " had the Minister obeyed his own convictions, or had the House " of Commons been true to the people they represented."—See Sir G. C. Lewis's 'Essays on the Administrations of Great Britain from 1783 to 1830,' p. 17.

Lord North, it appears from this letter, had replied to the King's letter No. 464, and to the following effect:—that he must adhere to his purpose of resignation; would ascertain how Lord Chatham and his friends were disposed to coalesce with "the fundamentals of the " present Administration;" would not presume to dictate, though he might advise, as to the choice of a successor to himself as First Lord of the Treasury, &c.—There is some discrepancy in the account given in 'Parl. Hist.,' xix. p. 950. Lord North is there made to declare himself resolved not to quit the helm during the present storm, &c.; whereas Mr. Aubrey in reply is represented as saying, " Since the noble Lord in the blue ribbon has so strongly expressed " his desire of *retiring*."—Comp. Almon's 'Register,' March 1778.

Letter 467.

** Queen's House, March 17th, 1778.
25 min. pt. 11 a.m.

Lord North,—I have just seen Lord Amherst, and had a very full conversation with him, the result of which is, that he thinks, if we collect the fleet at Halifax, and leave the American coast open, that the rebels will instantly fit out a fleet and make an attack on the islands; he therefore thinks, without loss of time, orders

should be sent to America to retire the troops from Philadelphia to New York, giving the General orders to send such part of that force to the Floridas as he may think necessary to secure them from attacks, and instantly to send home the two regiments of Light Dragoons, keeping the horses for the service of the army as baggage-horses or drawing cannon.

To let such part of the frigates as are thought absolutely necessary to be brought home.

To direct the Admiral to appoint New York as his port of rende[z]vous, and employ his fleet in destroying all the vessels in the American harbours.

Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Canada to be reinforced by some of the new-raised corps.

On the arrival of the Commissioners, if they find America resolved to join France, then the General to evacuate New York and Rhode Island, and those troops to be employed in attacking the West India Islands.

I have just sent Lord Weymouth directions to summon Lord Amherst to the meeting you are to have this forenoon, where he will be ready to express his sentiments.

Letter 468.

* Queen's House, March 17th, 1778.
25 min. pt. 11 a.m.

Lord North,—I am grieved at your continually recurring to a subject on which we can never agree. Your letter is certainly personally affectionate to me, and shows no signs of personal fear; but, my dear Lord, no consideration in life shall make me stoop to Opposition. I am still ready to accept any part of them that will come to the assistance of my present efficient

Ministers; but whilst any ten men in the kingdom will stand by me, I will not give myself up into bondage. My dear Lord, I will rather risk my crown than do what I think personally disgraceful; and whilst I have no wish but for the good and prosperity of my country, it is impossible that the nation shall not stand by me; if they will not, they shall have another king, for I will never put my hand to what would make me miserable to the last hour of my life. Therefore, my dear Lord, let Thurloe instantly know that I will appoint him Chancellor, and the Sollicitor-Gen. that, if he does not chuse to be Attorney, we will treat with the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas that he may have that office.

The King in this month received excellent advice from one of his own *Friends*: "I thought it my duty," said Lord Barrington in the royal closet, "to represent to his Majesty the general dismay which "prevailed among all ranks and conditions, arising, as I appre- "hended, from an opinion that the Administration was not equal to "the times; an opinion so universal, that it prevailed among those "who were most dependent on and attached to his Ministers, and "even among the Ministers themselves."—'Life of Lord Barrington,' p. 186.

On this day, on an amendment for the removal of Ministers, in the House of Commons, General Conway made a long speech. Fox, in noticing it, after paying Conway high compliments on his abilities and integrity, said that he "differed from him in nothing but in de- "manding the immediate dismission of Ministers: that he would "instantly declare the independence of the United States, and turn "the commissioners into ambassadors." He said that Lord North had talked much of the confusion his immediate resignation would occasion: "he [Fox] did not see how; he *did* see what confusion his "staying would make."

Letter 469.

Queen's House, March 17th, 1778.
40 min. pt. 5 p.m.

Lord North,—Though your messenger did not wait for an answer, I could not help just sending this note to express my satisfaction at the first payment of the loan having been made this day; this, with the majority that will appear in Parliament, will, I trust, put my affairs on a respectable foot; indeed, your standing forth at this particular juncture will do you credit, for I trust you know me too well to doubt I can ever forget your conduct; indeed, if real affection deserves any return, you cannot fail exerting yourself on this occasion for my service.

Letter 470.

* Queen's House, March 18th, 1778.
35 min. pt. 8 a.m.

Lord North,—A majority in the House of Lords of 64, in the House of Commons of 150, and the first payment of the loan made; had you the real duty and affection for my person that I know is deep rooted in your breast, common honesty and that sense of honour which must reside in the breast of every man born of a noble family would oblige you at this hour to stand firmly to the aid of him who thinks he deserves the assistance of every honest man. Therefore let Thurloe have notice that the Great Seal is ready to be placed in his hands, and the Sollicitor that exertion will be used to accomplish whatever is his wish; this done, but not till then, I am open to the plan of ministry proposed by you on Sunday, for I will never retract any propositions

I have assented to; and the appearance of Parliament yesterday may render those you had sounded more pliable than before they knew what effect the perfidious conduct of France might have on the minds of men; but, my dear Lord, I cannot help urging that I will never agree to the acceptance of the services of any part of the Opposition but to add strength to your Administration. It is a desire of going the utmost lengths my feelings will permit that to give you ease I consent to what gives me infinite pain; but any farther even that consideration cannot make me go, and rather than be shackled by those desperate men (if the nation will not stand by me, which I can never suppose) I will rather see any form of Government introduced into this island, Δ and lose my crown, than wear it as a disgrace.

I have appointed the House of Lords at two this day, therefore shall be ready to receive the Commons at three. You will take care that a proper answer be prepared to the latter. Lord Weymouth has already had my directions for the one to the Lords.

On the 17th of March Lord North delivered in the House a message from the Throne, stating the receipt of information from the French King that he had concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with his Majesty's revolted subjects in America, in consequence of which offensive communication the British Ambassador at Paris had been ordered home, and that his Majesty now fully relied on the zeal and affection of his people to repel the insult and maintain the reputation of the country. After the note of the French Ambassador had been read in the House Lord North moved an appropriate Address to the King. The Opposition moved an amendment requesting his Majesty to dismiss the Ministry. The original Address was carried by a majority of 150 (263—113) in the Commons. A similar amendment in the Lords was negatived by 43 (68—25).

"Last Tuesday the first payment of the loan of six hundred "thousand pounds was certainly made; and as it would otherwise "be forfeited, it is a security for the remainder."—Gibbon to Holroyd, March 21, 1778.

Letter 471.

** Queen's House, March 18th, 1778.
15 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Lord North,—I am highly incensed at the language held by Lord S—— last night to Eden, and approve of that of the latter. I will not say more at this hour, for I am fairly worn down, except that I shall not—let appearances be put on as plausible as possible—consent personally to negotiate with any individual: their proposals and my answers must go through your channel, for I will not change this Administration, but if I can with honour let you make acquisitions.

On the following day the French Ambassador informed Lord Weymouth, on the part of his master, "Que l'honneur de son "pavillon, et la protection qu'il doit au commerce de ses sujets, lui "avaient fait prendre des mésures éventuelles avec les treize états "unis et indépendants de l'Amérique." Rockingham Memoirs, ii. p. 346. On the 21st of this month Gibbon writes to Holroyd,—"The French Ambassador went off yesterday morning, not without "some slight expression of ill humour from John Bull. Lord "Stormont is probably arrived to-day. No *immediate* declaration, "except on our side." Among the consequences of which declaration was that "a general embargo was laid on all shipping in the "ports of France, probably to secure an indemnification, should any "stroke be suddenly struck by the English at sea." 'Ann. Register,' xxi. p. 172. Lord Stormont arrived a few days later, and had audience with his Majesty on the 27th of this month.

Letter 472.

Queen's House, March 20th, 1778.
6 min. pt. 8 a.m.

Lord North,—The poorness of the attack, the fulness of the support, and the conclusion on the expedition from Canada, in the Committee on the State of the Nation, gives me much pleasure.

The attack [Committee on State of Nation, March 19] was made by Mr. Fox on the subject of the late expedition from Canada; the debate was the longest that had taken place during the course of the Session, and called forth little less than the whole ability on both sides of the House. 'Ann. Register,' xxi. p. 168. Mr. Fox's resolution of censure on Lord George Germaine, as the chief author of Burgoyne's calamity, was rejected by a majority of 120 (164—44). Upon which Fox in great indignation tore up a paper containing another resolution, and declared he would make no more motions. The Court and Tory party, however, were not satisfied with this victory. The Solicitor-General then moved that the House should specifically exonerate Lord George, and the motion was carried in Committee that the failure of the expedition from Canada was not caused by any neglect on the part of the Secretary for America. But as the chief argument of the majority turned upon the injustice of any decision in the absence of the parties, a decision in favour of the party present did not appear very equitable; and accordingly the resolution of the Committee was not reported to the whole House.

Letter 473.

Queen's House, March 20th, 1778.
6 min. pt. 8 p.m.

Lord North may depend on my never departing from the powers I gave him in my letter of Sunday last, that he might attempt to acquire auxilliaries to the present Administration; but he will remember that in any treaty the basis of the whole is, that Lord North is to remain First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Thurloe Chancellor, Lord Suffolk, Sandwich, Gower, and Weymouth, in the Cabinet offices they may like best, and that Mr. Wedderburne be placed to his mind. As to the enclosed paper drawn up by Mr. Eden, you are the best judge whether it leaves any ground for your treating on the only foot I will ever agree to; but, my dear Lord, understand me clearly; I will hear of none but on the ground I have now again

repeated, and which Lord Suffolk reported to me on Sunday, when you had shown him the full and affectionate letter I had wrote unto you, that you had told [him] it was all you could expect from me.

Letter 474.

** Queen's House, March 22nd, 1778.[a]
[1] min. pt. 8 a.m.

Lord North,—I can scarcely express my disappointment at finding that all the uneasiness and labour I have undergone for the whole week has not convinced you that, though you are unhappily too diffident of your own abilities, yet, though you ought also to consider that you have changed your ground since Sunday, I never will depart from the letter I so often remind you of, which I wrote on that day unto you; I again repeat it,—strengthen this Administration by an accession from any quarter, but I will never consent to removing the members of the present Cabinet from my service.

I am extremely indifferent whether Lord Granby goes or does not go with the abject message of the Rockingham party this day to Hayes; I will certainly send none to that place.

My dear Lord, your now always recurring to a total change of the Administration obliges me to ask you one clear question, which in my own mind I am almost certain cannot be your intention: If I will not by your advice take the step I look on as disgraceful to myself and destruction to my country and family, are you resolved, agreable to the example of the D. of Grafton, at the hour of danger to desert me?

[a] Lord Mahon gives the date of this letter March 18th—it should be March 22nd. It is not always safe to follow the dates given by Lord Brougham.

Lord Albemarle ('Memoirs of Rockingham,' vol. ii. p. 349) thinks "That the King was misinformed respecting any attempt of "the Rockingham party to negotiate with Chatham. Neither in the "Duke of Richmond's letter just quoted"(p. 347, "March 15"), "nor "in the subsequent conduct of the whole party, who acted upon "the suggestions it contained, is there anything which savours "'of the abject message to Hayes.'"—"Indeed, at no time had the "great orator and the Old Whigs been more directly at issue than "at the present juncture."

Lord Mahon, on the contrary, vi. p. 225, grounds upon this letter his statement that, "Meanwhile, many members of the Rockingham "party, feeling, as they well might, greater confidence in Lord "Chatham than in their own immediate chief, and not willing at this "crisis to be absent from his thoughts, desired to transmit to him, "through his friend Lord Granby, the expression of their sentiments." He adds that, "of that overture there is nothing further known to "me beyond its mention by the King."*

For a particular account of the attempts of the Minister to strengthen his position by recruits from the Opposition, see Lord Holland's narrative in 'Correspondence of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. pp. 179–195.

Letter 475.

** St. James's, March 23rd, 1778.
46 min. pt. 1 p.m.

Lord North,—I cannot return the message to the House of Commons without expressing my satisfaction at your determination not to desert at this hour, which indeed I always thought your sense of honour must prevent. I shall write more fully in the evening.

Letter 476.

Queen's House, March 24th, 1778.
55 min. pt. 7 a.m.

Lord North,—On Sunday morning I sent my letter at five minutes after eight, consequently was unfortunate in your having left town so early that morning; but

though your letters for the last two days might perhaps have borne to one less acquainted with you than I am unpleasant interpretations, yet I was too fully acquainted with your duty and affection for my person, and of your honour and integrity, not to be convinced that [it] could not be intended to state anything but your unhappy diffidence of yourself.

I desire you will call here at two this day, that every necessary step for bringing to the Cabinet an accession of men of abilities may not an hour longer be delayed. If the fatigue of the House of Commons or other business shall render that hour inconvenient, I then wish to see you at eight this evening, for I am resolved to shew the world that neither zeal, activity, nor resolution are wanting in me, when the times require it, to forward with the greatest expedition every measure that can be necessary for the security or honour of my dominions.

LETTER 477.

* Queen's House, March 26th, 1778.
5 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—The papers which I received from you yesterday morning, and now return, are certainly of too much importance to the interest and honour of this country for me, at so short notice, to venture to give a decisive opinion; indeed I might entirely have declined giving any without more mature deliberation, and hearing at large the sentiments of the Cabinet.

The many instances of the inimical conduct of Franklin towards this country makes me aware that hatred to this country is the constant object of his mind, and therefore I trust that, fearing the rebellious

colonies may accept the generous offers I am enabled by Parliament to make them by the Commissioners now to be sent to America, that his chief aim in what he has thrown out is to prevent their going, or to draw out of Administration an inclination to go farther lengths than the Act of Parliament will authorize, that information from him may prevent America from concluding with the Commissioners.

Yet I think it so desirable to end the war with that country, to be enabled with redoubled ardour to avenge the faithless and insolent conduct of France, that I think it may be proper to keep open the channel of intercourse with that insidious man.

As to my entering at present into the specific terms that may or may not be admitted, that is impossible untill the whole is drawn up in some degree of method, after another interview of the agents employed in this dangerous business; but I will never consent that in any treaty that may be concluded a single word be mentioned concerning Canada, Nova Scotia, or the Floridas, which are colonies belonging to this country, and the more they are kept unlike the other colonies the better, for it is by them we are to keep a certain awe over the abandoned colonies, where good garrisons must be constantly kept.

LETTER 478.*

** Queen's House, March 27th, 1778. 30 min. pt. 7 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I have read Lord Buckingham's two letters, and I am thoroughly convinced that you cannot be ignorant that he is now quite Irish in his opinions,

therefore hope you will be on your guard not in answer to give that degree of encouragement that may draw this country into granting too many advantages in trade to Ireland; if that kingdom is to have any graces of that kind, I desire they may be granted with a sparing hand, for experience has taught me that every favour granted there is only a reason to ask a greater.

I am glad to find, by your letter accompanying the list of speakers on the extraordinaries, that you see the propositions from Franklin in the same light I do; it is the keeping Canada on its present foot that is alone to secure the dependence of America with the assistance of troops in the Floridas and Nova Scotia.

One of the "two letters," dated March 20, 1778, is printed in the 'Memoirs of Grattan,' vol. i. p. 298.

Letter 479.

* Queen's House, March 27th, 1778.
44 min. pt. 11 p.m.

Lord North,—I have read the proposed Bill for a provision for my six youngest sons and five daughters whenever it shall please the Almighty to end my life, and for the two children of the Duke of Gloucester whenever he shall die. I have no objection to any part of it, and have only corrected the name of my second daughter and filled up the blank left for that of my youngest daughter.

I cannot at the same time help expressing my concern at your recurring in a letter of this evening to a measure I have repeatedly told you I never will submit to, as I look upon it as disgraceful to me, and destruction

to my kingdom and family; but your never quitting this subject, and your avowed despondency, which is highly detrimental to my service, obliges me to ask the three following questions, to which I expect explicit answers in writing.

1. Do you think it possible to strengthen the present Administration by an accession of some men of tallents from Opposition?

2. If that cannot be effected, will you consent to continue, and try to exert yourself, and co-operate with me in putting vigour and activity into every department?

3. If you decline continuing, you cannot I suppose refuse presiding at the Treasury and finishing the business of this Session of Parliament, and not be surprised at my employing that short space of time in taking such steps as I may judge necessary in strengthening my service, the first of which will be my giving the Great Seal to the Attorney-General.

Letter 480.

* Queen's House, March 30th, 1778.
34 min. pt. 7 p.m.

Lord North,—By the letter I have received from you this afternoon, I am sorry to perceive you have by declining the two first questions adopted the third, the consenting to hold your employment and to conduct the public affairs in the House of Commons untill the conclusion of this Session of Parliament. It would be useless in me to say what I feel at your declining to stay beyond that period, as I have wrote unto you; I must therefore from henceforth alone attend to what I think the good of my service requires, and as such now direct you to send for Mr. Thurloe, and acquaint

him that I intend in a few days to place the Great Seal in his hands, and to conferr a peerage on him. As I am even to the end of your holding your employment willing to give you every ease not detrimental to my service, I will authorize you to persuade the Solicitor-General not to quit the House of Commons untill the end of the Session: tell him it will be a conduct I shall never forget, and one of your last acts shall be the compleating the arrangement with the Chief Justice, that the Solicitor may preside in the Court of Common Pleas.

"Mr. Charles Fox ..... is anxious to communicate to you a "conversation which he has had to-day with Lord Weymouth. ..... "The object of it is a new ministerial arrangement, in which, "however, I cannot but remark that the Treasury and the Great Seal "are reserved by the King, the first in a great measure, if not "wholly, for Lord Weymouth, and the last absolutely for Mr. "Thurlow."—Duke of Portland to the Marquis of Rockingham, May 29, 1778.

LETTER 481.

Queen's House, March 31st, 1778.
46 min. pt. 7 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—Though I mentioned your continuing untill the end of this Session, I never doubted that if it should be really necessary to detain you longer to arrange matters in the best manner after so unfortunate an event, that you would submit to it; and, indeed, I am pleased at finding I judged right on that head. Indeed, that latitude is indispensably necessary, for, untill I received your letter the last afternoon, I never despaired of persuading you to continue in your present employment, though I felt how painful it was unto you, and therefore have never arranged any ideas in my mind, in case that disagreable event should arise.

As soon as you have acquainted me with the answer of the Attorney-General, if you do not chuse to take the part of acquainting the Lord Chancellor of the necessity, particularly at this time, of the person who holds that office attending Council, and therefore of my calling on him to resign the Great Seal, I will readily send for him and tell it unto him myself: I did so in the case of Lord Camden, and perhaps he will like that better. I perfectly agree that any idea of your retiring must be kept quite secret; and I shall from this hour redouble my activity to shew the public that no event, however unpleasant personally to me, can abate my ardour to be of use to my country.

LETTER 482.

* Queen's House, April 1st, 1778.
49 min. pt. 11 a.m.

MY DEAR LORD,—The letter I have just received from you is in the affectionate style I used to find ever to be called forth in you when my service was concerned, and so very unlike the coldness and despondency of your correspondence for some time, that I cannot refrain the pleasure of expressing my satisfaction at it, though I shall see you this day, when I will fully talk over the conduct of Mr. Jackson; I am very clear he ought not to be allowed to go, and that Johnston, if made palatable to Lord Carlisle, which I should think Eden might easily manage, would not be an improper person.

" To the astonishment of mankind it was declared that 'Mr. " Jackson' was not to be one of the three Commissioners to America, " but Governor Johnston was, and he, Lord Carlisle, and Eden kissed " hands. This confirmed the very bad opinion the world had of

" Johnston, and of his being a true Scot. To this moment he had " long been in violent Opposition, had ridiculed Lord Carlisle egre- " giously (indeed both were equally mean in consenting to go " together), and had even very lately declared strongly against the " independence of America, which could not make him a welcome " negotiator there; but the great salary drowned all reasons."—H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 250.

On this and some of the preceding letters Lord Holland remarks ('Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 195), that their "substance as " well as temper shows that Lord North was continually pressing " the King to change his measures, and to admit either a portion or " the whole of the party opposed to the American war—a fact from " which the biographer of Mr. Fox will not fail to infer that, in the " subsequent coalition of 1783, there was no dereliction of principle " on either side, and that the inconsistency of the parties was more " apparent than real."

Lord Russell, in his note upon this passage, "cannot assent to " this remark of Lord Holland. Lord North actually carried on " the American war: it will hardly add to his reputation to show " that he involved the Old and the New World in useless bloodshed " against his own opinion."

Letter 483.

* Queen's House, April 2nd, 1778.
17 min. pt. 8 a.m.

Lord North,—I have received the list of the Secret Committee chosen yesterday by ballot.

I must insist on no time being lost in speaking to the Attorney-General[a] concerning his taking the Great Seal, as my intention is to conferr it on him next Saturday, that he may be able to appear in the debate on the close of the State of the Nation on Tuesday next. You yesterday renewed your request that I would think of an arrangement to release you from your present situation; it is impossible for me to stirr a step untill the

[a] Thurlow.

Great Seal is in respectable hands; the situation of the Solicitor-General is quite different,—an arrangement of a permanent kind is to be made to satisfy him; the Attorney is to be brought forward to give energy to the first station in the law; therefore I only press for what is of use to my service, and leave the other to your arranging when it suits you best.

LETTER 484.

[a] Queen's House, April 3rd, 1778.
30 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—The demand of pay[a] made by Mr. Eden seems rather exorbitant: he seems to think *éclat* a part of the character of a Commissioner; I think *business* their sole occupation; but I shall certainly consent on that head to whatever you may think reasonable, always trusting that the expence is not in the end to fall on my Civil List, for it is as much a part of the American contest as the victualling ships, or any other of the expences this unfortunate affair has made necessary.

Forth's letter has an appearance of truth: we shall soon hear from Lord Grantham[b] if it is exact.

LETTER 485.

Queen's House, April 3rd, 1778.
2 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—Whenever a difficulty arises in affairs, the longer it is delayed the more fresh ones naturally arise; at first the new one started by the Chief Justice[c]

[a] See note to Letter 482, "the great salary."

[b] Lord Grantham (Thomas Robinson), Ambassador at the Court of Madrid.

[c] Of the Common Pleas, Sir William de Grey, since January 26th, 1771.

seems unpleasant, but on consideration I find it aleviates many, for it would be impossible to give him a Peerage at this time, consequently he will decline retiring; therefore the Solicitor-General must decide between being Attorney-General or consenting to have the Master of the Rolls* persuaded to make place for him; by either of these means he will be kept in the House of Commons. As to the Chief Justice thinking himself ill-used if Mr. Thurlow is made a Peer, it has not the smallest foundation. I offered him the Great Seal and a Peerage; he declined both. I want an able Chancellor, and therefore have pitched on Mr. Thurlow. It is no preference, the giving a man a Peerage because he holds an office in which he cannot be of compleat use without a seat in the House of Lords.

Letter 486.

* Queen's House, April 6th, 1778. 46 min. pt. 10 p.m.

Lord North,—It is unpleasing to see gentlemen so little concerned for their country as to let the House Tax be only carried by five votes; the making only houses of 10*l.* rent pay it would have reduced it very much, and consequently have obliged Parliament the next Session by an additional tax to have made up the deficiency, and to every new tax must be added the charge of management.

A messenger is just arrived from Berlin. The King of Prussia seems desirous of forwarding our treaty with Russia, provided he meets with assistance. I have upon this acquainted Lord Suffolk that the letters must be

* The Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas Sewell, since December, 1764.

laid before a Cabinet to-morrow, that it may be determined whether some additional orders must not be given to Mr. Elliot.* I am sorry the K. of Prussia stoops to tell untruths, which certainly is the case in an insinuation that Austria encouraged France to make the treaty with the rebels, and has pressed her to attack my German dominions.

LETTER 487.

* Queen's House, April 8th, 1778.
46 min. pt. 7 a.m.

LORD NORTH may acquaint the Lord Chancellor that he may prepare the Commission for passing the private Bills on Thursday, and that I shall on Friday give my assent to the Tax Bills.

I am deeply afflicted at what I fear too authentic an account of the death of Sir John Clavering. I know that I have lost a most excellent officer and a truely valuable man, one whom neither difficulties nor any other consideration could swerve from the right path.

I do not think much is to be built on the note from Mr. Pulteney: probably the Old Doctor may wish to keep a door open, but as it does not delay the Commissioners it can be of no disservice.

The giving an audience to foreign Ministers when they go abroad is now become customary,—it used only to be to Ambassadors. On this occasion it is not necessary, and would be rather unpleasant; as Eden does not seem to wish it, I desire he will prevent its being expected.

* Hugh Elliot, Envoy-Extraordinary at Berlin, since October 13, 1776.

Lieut.-General Sir John Clavering, Colonel of the 52nd regiment of Foot, second in Council, and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Bengal, died on the 10th of April.

Mr. Pulteney.—William Johnston, a descendant of the Johnstons of Annandale, was the elder brother of Governor Johnston. He married Frances, only child of Lieut.-General Pulteney, brother of the Earl of Bath. The Earl dying without legitimate issue, in 1764, his brother's daughter Frances succeeded to his estates. Johnston on his marriage took the name of Pulteney. *Mr. Pulteney* had lately seen Franklin at Paris, and according to H. Walpole wished to be one of the Commissioners to America.

Letter 488.

** Queen's House, April 8th, 1778.
15 min. pt. 7 p.m.

Lord North,—Having had so many subjects to talk upon with you this day, I omitted enquiring whether you had seen the Attorney-General, and acquainted him that I intend without farther loss of time to conferr the Great Seal on him; indeed, after the answer of Lord Chief Justice De Grey, there cannot be any arrangement made for the Solicitor-General in the Court of Common Pleas; perhaps the Master of the Rolls might be persuaded to retire; the most eligible choise [sic] the Solicitor could make would be to become Attorney-General.

May not the political exit of Lord Chatham incline you to continue at the head of my affairs? if it will not, you cannot be surprised I again mention it, and must here add, that I cannot begin to form any plan untill Mr. Thurlow is in possession of the Great Seal.

Lord Chatham was stricken with his death fit on the 7th of April, and died at Hayes on the morning of the 11th of May following. This curt mention of the ever-memorable scene in the House of Lords is, to say the least of it—remarkable.

Letter 489.

* Queen's House, April 15th, 1778.
50 min. pt. 8 p.m.

Lord North,—Seeing the embarassment you had got into from strong solicitations of granting three Peerages on the promotion of Mr. Thurlow to the Great Seal, and feeling on my part how much my consenting to it would be blamed in the public, I resolved to take on myself the unpleasant task of at least getting one of them postponed, that you might not be blamed by any of the parties concerned. I therefore saw Mr. De Grey[a] early this morning; told him it was without your knowledge or that of any other person; that I felt that the Chief Justice might wish to have a Peerage as an advantage to his family; that from the state of his health it could not enable him to attend Parliament; that three Peerages to his profession would not be right; that I could not consent to it; but if the Chief Justice would consent to retire for the convenience of my service, I would promise, on the first promotion of persons to Peerages, exclusive of the present law arrangement, I would conferr one on him, and that, if he should not live till then, it should, as in the case of Sir John Cust, be conferred on his son. The Chief Justice has sent Mr. De Grey to explain his hearty acquiescence, of which the enclosed is an exact copy. I desire therefore not an hour may be delayed in my calling forth Mr. Thurlow, and in gratifying the wishes of the Solicitor-General.

I am ready to mention to the Lord Chancellor myself the necessity of his resigning, and I am certain he will rather chuse the intimation should come from me than from any other person.

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[a] The Chief-Justice De Grey was created Lord Walsingham in October, 1780. He did not retire from the Common Pleas until the June preceding.

MEMORANDUM.

To express the Chief Justice's profound submission to his Majesty's royal pleasure, and his sentiments of gratitude for his Majesty's great goodness to him and his family, and that he does repose himself with so much security and confidence in his Majesty's gracious declaration, that he cannot hesitate a moment to assure his Majesty of his perfect reliance on his royal intention to advance to an English Peerage him or his family among the next promotion after the present.

April 15th, 1778. Lincoln's Inn Fields.

LETTER 490.

*Queen's House, April 16th, 1778. 42 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—The papers transmitted by Thornton are, if true, very material, and confirm me in the wish of beating the fleet commanded by d'Estaing, and I will this day see whether Lord Sandwich cannot encourage Keppel, on a promise of sending out additional ships to the reinforcement of his squadron, to detach a sufficient force to beat this Frenchman before he passes the [Gut?][a] of Gibraltar.

D'Estaing's fleet did not "pass through the Gut of Gibraltar" until some weeks after the date of this letter. (Gibbon to Holroyd, June 12.)

LETTER 491.

*Kew, April 18th, 1778. 34 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—Not having received any answer to the letter I wrote unto you on Wednesday evening, by

[a] This word is supplied by Lord Brougham, p. 116. There is a gap in the King's letter.

which you saw I had removed the immediate difficulty of at one time creating three Law Peers, I, to prevent delay, sent on Thursday evening for the Lord Chancellor, and explained the impossibility of continuing him in office, he having declined to attend at the consultations of my Ministers for digesting the various public matters which, from the war, would more than ever require the assistance of the person that held the Great Seal. He saw the necessity of my conduct, and will with great propriety deliver the Seal whenever called upon by me. Thus the road is now plain for you; and as I find this arrangement is much talked of in London, no farther delay can be of utility; therefore I desire you will this day send to the Attorney-General and fix at latest his coming to-morrow to Bushy, when you will notify that I mean to put the Seals on Wednesday into his hands. You will also acquaint me with the money arrangement proposed by the Chief Justice, that you may have my final consent to that transaction, and then you may acquaint the Solicitor-General that on Wednesday he will be presented as Chief Justice, and have a Peerage. As soon as I have your answer I will write to the Lord Chancellor and apprize him to attend on Wednesday.

Lord Campbell, 'Lives of the Chancellors,' vol. vii. p. 144, 4th ed., remarks that the surrender of the Great Seal, which did not take place until the day after the prorogation of Parliament, "seems "to have been precipitate: it was not accompanied with any other "changes, and I am unacquainted with its secret history. One "would have expected that, having tided over the session, Lord "Bathurst, notwithstanding his inefficiency, would have been "allowed to retain his office till after the long vacation, and till "Parliament and the Court of Chancery were to meet again in "November. He had not had any difference with Lord North or "any of the other Ministers, and they were conscious that he had

" done his best to serve them. I suspect that, from the approaching " war against France and Spain, and the questions which were anti- " cipated with neutral powers, some advice was required in the " Cabinet upon international law, which might be given in a bolder " tone and acted upon with more confidence. It is very much to be " deplored that when the disputes with the colonies were ripening " into civil war, and when sound constitutional counsels might have " saved the State, there sat in the Cabinet one of the weakest, " though one of the worthiest of our Chancellors."

The King sought a more efficient, but he could scarcely have expected a more compliant Keeper of the Great Seal than Lord Bathurst. He opposed the Bill for making some provision for the late Lord Chatham's family; he ridiculed the project of acknowledging the independency of America; he asserted the legality of the Ministerial plan for allowing regiments to be raised and maintained by individuals, in spite of any provisions to the contrary contained in the Bill of Rights; he brought in a Bill " to suspend " the Habeas Corpus Act with respect to his Majesty's subjects " taken fighting against him in America;" and when President of the Council in 1779, he resisted the Duke of Richmond's motion about the Civil List expenditure, contending that, " if a system of " economy was to be adopted, it should not begin with the Crown, " the splendour of which should be maintained by an ample " revenue for the honour and dignity of the empire." 'Parl. Hist.,' xx. p. 1259.

LETTER 492.

*Kew, April 18th, 1778. 20 min. pt. 7 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—As the letter I have received from you plainly shews that at all events you expect to be released from your situation at the close of this Session, and that you cannot extricate yourself for that small period, if the law arrangements you yourself had proposed to me take place, I think it upon the whole best to make no arrangement this recess,* and therefore you are dispensed from taking any steps concerning the pre-

* The Easter recess. Parliament reassembled on May 1st.

sent Attorney and Solicitor-Generals, or any successors to them, which I hope will enable you to spend the next week quietly at Bushy, that you may recruit your mind to carry on the business in the House of Commons for the remainder of this Session.

LETTER 493.

Queen's House, April 28th, 1778.
12 min. pt. 7 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—Having heard yesterday from Lord Sandwich that to-morrow there will be a Cabinet on the intelligence concerning the sailing of the Toulon squadron on the 13th of the month under the command of Count d'Estaing, I therefore enclose a copy for your information of the paper Admiral Keppel delivered to me the last time I saw him before his departure to the fleet. I have made it for your own inspection, therefore do not want to have it returned.

Admiral Keppel's Paper copied by the King, and mentioned in Letter of April 28th.

"IN the present important moment of concern, it is impossible to "keep thoughts in total silence; I never allow myself to form plans "in my imagination for exertion and enterprize upon the enemy, "without continually meeting a complete check or stop, from the want "of the force, both of land and sea, that is employed in North "America, but I will interfere as little as possible with that great "question. It seems decided; yet I may be permitted to say the "great land force as well as sea force in that part, the number of "transports, of victuallers, of ordnance ships and other storeships, "employ the largest stock of seamen belonging to this country, and "therefore, till I can see my way in this great consideration, I must "be rather silent, and content myself with the hopes, though not the "certainty, of being able to face the French wherever they may sud-

"denly shew themselves; for which purpose, my first consideration "and proposition would be, supposing the great fleet tolerably "strong, to form a plan, and in great haste, for a fleet of frigates, "cutters, and small craft of every sort, to be able to disappoint the "French in the attempts they may make to land upon the coasts of "England and Ireland. Land force will be wanted to receive and "check bodies of the enemies troops that may escape the vigilance "of the English fleets, as indeed there are many circumstances and "probable situations that may render the fleet of resistance unable "to stop that of the enemies. And now in regard to the great fleet, "the consideration of its being the bulwark and real safety of these "dominions, I cannot but think that, in every view of it, it should "be *preserved in force* superior to the enemies if possible, and depend "upon good intelligence for adopting any separation of it: should the "enemy send a large detachment of its fleet to either West or East "Indies, the same force may be instantly sent from this country; "but till that is clearly understood, sending any considerable de-"tachment from home can have little other effect than weakening "our force, and yet remaining insufficiently strong abroad to resist "the enemy. What is to be apprehended by it is that the enemy will "be able to beat and disperse such inferiority as four or five ships "would be (that is, admitting that they get out unobserved); "and being so successful, the additional force sent of four or five "ships to strengthen the others might be defeated in their turn, "those they expected to join having met that fate before them: "some means and exertions must be thought of to raise 8000 or "9000 men for the fleet: if the services can be carried on with-"out disgrace to the period of such a recruit of men, the face and "appearances of things would much change, but in the present "moment I must repeat that it would be unwise to separate the "great fleet by detachment: such a measure might put the sea "force of England in the exact state of that of the French, *divided* "and left to the possibility of being cut off from joining. I am "therefore firm in my opinion that detachment and separation is "dangerous and risks too much. If the Spaniards join the French "fleet from Toulon, the siege of Gibraltar may be their object: in "that thought, all sea force to that place not completely adequate "is thrown away (I don't mean that a risk, if supplies are necessary, "must not be run). If the destination of the Toulon fleet can ever "be ascertained, suppose East or West Indies, equal force will "of course be sent close upon them.

"The length of time for the great fleet keeping the sea is a "matter of the utmost consequence to have in consideration."*

* This "paper" was apparently unknown to the biographer of Viscount Keppel.

"By the beginning of May," says Keppel's biographer, "a con-
"siderable force was assembled at Portsmouth. Admiral Keppel
"had every prospect of being shortly at sea, when he received
"an order to place nine of his ships of the line under the com-
"mand of Vice-Admiral Byron, who was then at Plymouth, and
"about to proceed to Gibraltar, to prevent Monsieur d'Estaing's
"sailing from Toulon. These ships were to be manned and fitted
"with the utmost despatch, and Admiral Keppel's fleet, which
"had been so hastily gathered together to protect this kingdom
"from invasion, was stripped of men, stores, and provisions, to
"supply another expedition. Such was the scarcity of stores, that
"even the tacks and sheets of the 'Valiant,' and other cordage rove
"in that ship and in the 'Ramillies,' then under Keppel's command,
"were unrove and given to Byron's ships.[a] Notwithstanding
"this assistance, Byron was unable to proceed to sea until the
"9th of June, nearly two months after d'Estaing had sailed from
"Toulon."

"To stimulate the seamen and artificers at their different occu-
"pations the King and Queen visited the dockyards at Chatham,
"Sheerness, and Portsmouth. At the latter place they remained a
"week, during which time the King held a levée on board Keppel's
"ship, the 'Prince George.'"—Life of Viscount Keppel, vol. ii. pp. 21-3.

"The King and Queen to Portsmouth on the 2nd of May." See 'Last Journals' of Horace Walpole, vol. ii. pp. 262-264, for some caustic remarks on their visit. It was thought by Mr. Thomas Townshend and others that the fêtes given on this occasion at Portsmouth did not materially forward the business in hand. The Toulon fleet under d'Estaing and Bougainville had sailed on the 26th of April "with provisions for nine months and quantities of stores." Mr. Pulteney was very indignant at this "puppet-show "at Portsmouth."

[a] About six weeks before this borrowing of Peter to pay Paul, Lord North had declared that "the navy was never "in greater strength;" and, at the end of April, General Conway, having applied to Lord Sandwich for a frigate to guard Jersey and Guernsey (he was Governor of Jersey), was told by the First Lord of the Admiralty that there were but three frigates at disposal, and that he had borrowed one of them to send against Paul Jones. A few days before, Lord Sandwich had assured the House of Lords that there were nineteen frigates at home, and, in the preceding November, that there were thirty-five men-of-war fit for active service. Lord North's and the First Lord of the Admiralty's statements of effective force were on a par with those protested against by the Athenian Chatham:—*μή μοι μυρίους, μηδὲ δισμυρίους ξένους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους ταύτας δυνάμεις.*—Demosth. I. Philipp. c. 8.

Letter 494.

Portsmouth Dockyard, May 5th, 1778.

Lord North,—I intended to have left this place on Thursday morning, but found on visiting the fleet at Spithead this day that several of the ships intended to be part of Vice-Admiral Byron's squadron could not fix which day they would sail. I have therefore given notice to Admiral Pye, that I shall not leave Portsmouth untill Rear-Admiral Parker is sailed; and have dispensed with Admiral Pye's attendance on me, as also the captains of those ships, untill the said ships are reported ready to sail; this has put great allacrity [sic] into all of them. Sir Hugh Pallisser[a] has since told me privately that my taking that step will make them sail many days sooner than they would else; Keppel and Campbell[b] have since confirmed me in that opinion. I suppose I shall therefore end the week here. I have no object but to be of use: if that is answered I am compleatly happy. The affection I have received from all ranks of people at this place deserve[s] every degree of activity for the good of the service, and no one is more hearty in the cause than myself.

Letter 495.

* Portsmouth Dockyard, May 6th, 1778.

Lord North,—The delay in the sailing of the fleet has not been occasioned by any neglect, but the difference of stores and provisions necessary for Channel

[a] Sir Hugh Palliser, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, commanded the 'Ocean,' and speedily became famous.

[b] Rear-Admiral Campbell, "who, "from the love and esteem he entertained for Keppel, volunteered to "sail with him in the subordinate "capacity of first captain."—'Life of Keppel,' vol. ii. p. 23.

and foreign service: in the former only four months are given, in the latter a year is the usual proportion; but that no time may be lost, and as all the naval officers in the least consulted see the impossibility of victualling and refitting this squadron abroad, stores and provisions are only ordered to make the former quantity up to eight months, which is double of the proportion for Channel service. Had yesterday proved a day fit to get these additional articles into the ships, Parker would if the wind had been fair have sailed this day. To-day has been still more boistrous; and though in the two days the vessels have attempted four times to carry these articles, the sea was too rough for their lying alongside of the men-of-war. Commissioner Houd has just now assured me that if the wind abates he will to-morrow in eight hours compleatly deliver to the squadron all that has been ordered, and it will sail if the wind is fair on Friday. It is very absurd in gentlemen unacquainted with the immense detail of naval affairs to trouble the House of Commons with matters totally foreign to truth; if I was now writing from my own ideas only, I should be as absurd as them; but Keppel, Pallisser, Parker, and Houd, are men whose knowledge in that science may be trusted. I do not mean to touch on the rest of your letter: when I come to town no other business shall employ my thoughts till I have fully digested what is best to be done; but you remember the last words you used were that you did not mean to resign.

I omitted one remark. Byron only left London yesterday morning, Parker will therefore reach Plymouth before the other is ready to sail.

The King probably refers to what took place in the House of Commons on the day preceding this letter. Lord North asked for a

vote of credit for a million; much demur ensued. On the 7th the King's message was read, and Lord North moved to grant the money. T. Townshend, Fox, and Burke attacked the Ministers on their receiving an account of the sailing of the Toulon fleet on the Monday, and not calling a Council to give orders until the Wednesday. They delayed, it was alleged, giving orders for sailing until the wind had turned to the west, as was usual at this time of the year; neither was the fleet ready to sail or sufficiently stored. Lord George Germaine admitted that the conduct of the Ministry justified the conduct of the Opposition. The vote of credit however passed without a negative. In the Lords the Duke of Richmond moved for all letters relating to the sailing of the Toulon squadron. With the usual vacillation of the North Ministry, Lord Weymouth first opposed the motion and called for the previous question, then yielded the point, and the motion was carried on that day in the Lords, and on the next a similar motion in the Commons.

Letter 496.

Portamouth Dockyard, May 8th, 1778.
40 min. pt. 4 a.m.

Lord North,—The person from whom you have got the intelligence of the destination of the French fleet is in my opinion much the best of the many that have been employed. I am convinced of the propriety of sending Byron to North America, and, that no unnecessary time may be lost, shall instantly send an extract of that part of your letter, omitting the name, to Lord Sandwich, who lyes on board the yacht in the harbour, with directions that an express may be sent overland to Plymouth in my name to Byron, to shew the necessity of his getting on board the instant Rear-Admiral Parker appears off of Plymouth, and a duplicate to be sent by Parker's squadron, to whom I will in person say everything that is strong to make him in my name enforce expedition. If Lord Sandwich sees no objection, Capt. Robinson of the 'Guadaloupe' shall

be directed when Parker is under way to make the best haste he can to Plymouth to acquaint Byron of this event.

The wind was very strong till five in the evening, when most fortunately it became quite serene, and a very clear moon has lasted all night, which secures the provisions and stores being early in the morning on board all the ships.

I sent Rear-Admiral Parker word last night I should in the yacht at eight this morning sail out of the harbour to see him weigh anchor; this I am certain will redouble his ardour to sail as soon as it is possible; but, my good Lord, as no mortal can withstand the will of Divine Providence, from the hour I arrived here not an instant has been lost to forward the sailing of this fleet. I have wrote unto you what additions are necessary to be added to a fleet fitted for Channel service, when her destination is changed to foreign service: the continual storm, not any one other obstacle, has prevented the effecting this.

As to the rest of your letters, I shall return on Saturday, and shall be ready on Sunday evening to receive you at the hour which may suit you best, to hear all you have to say, which is far better than your holding that language after the Drawing-room that day.

I instantly send back your messenger, and shall take one on board the yacht to dispatch unto you the moment Parker sails, that your mind may at least be at ease on that head.

The 'Annual Register' thus records the events of the King's visit to Portsmouth (vol. xxi. pp. 232–238):—

"Friday. His Majesty went, about half-past six in the morning, "under the bottom of a frigate of twenty-eight guns, to see the "workmen sheathe her with copper, where his Majesty stayed near "half an hour.

"At ten o'clock their Majesties went in the barge on board the "'Princess Augusta' yacht, and sailed in her through the fleet at "Spithead to St. Helen's; and returned to the Mother-bank, where "she came to an anchor. About six in the evening, the yacht, with "their Majesties on board, sailed through the merchant-ships in "Stokes Bay, and left Spithead about half-past seven to go into the "harbour; then parting with the fleet, they received a royal salute "from every ship, of twenty-one guns, and the same from Southsea "Castle, Blockhouse Fort, and the saluting battery of the town, as "they passed them in their way into the harbour. Their Majesties "landed at eight o'clock and went to the Commissioner's house, "before which the workmen were assembled, who gave three cheers "and then dispersed."

"His Majesty created the Commissioner and Sir Richard Bickerton, "who steered their Majesties the last and the present time, Baronets; "and Digby Dent, captain to the senior flag, Knight; Edward "Linzee, Esq., the mayor, desired to be excused the honour!"

A courtly but not altogether useless historian records, in very smooth and solemn periods, every hour of the royal progress (Huish's 'Memoirs of George III.,' p. 379); and Lord Shaftesbury celebrated it in verse ('Ann. Reg.,' ib. p. 236).

LETTER 497.

Queen's House, May 9th, 1778.
50 min. pt. 4 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am arrived from Portsmouth about a quarter of an hour, and have the satisfaction of acquainting you that Rear-Admiral Parker had every store and provision on board his squadron before I left Spithead last night, and I had notice this morning that he would without fail fall down to St. Hellens at twelve this day, where he will only be detained by the wind. I shall be ready to receive you at any time to-morrow evening most convenient unto you.

"This morning, May 9th, about half-past 8 o'clock, their Majesties "got into their post-chaise at Portsmouth, and arrived at the "Queen's House at half-past 4 o'clock."—'Ann. Reg.,' ib. p. 238.

Keppel did not drop down to St. Helen's until the 4th of June.—Life, ii. p. 23. He was detained by S.-*Westerly* winds.—See note to Letter 495.

LETTER 498.

*** Queen's House, May 12th, 1778.
5 min. pt. 8 a.m.

'LORD NORTH,—I am rather surprised the House of Commons have unanimously voted an Address for a public funeral and a monument in Westminster Abbey for Lord Chatham; but I trust it is worded as a testimony of gratitude for his rouzing the nation at the beginning of the last war, and his conduct whilst at that period he held the Seals of Secretary of State, or this compliment, if payed to his general conduct, is rather an offensive measure to me personally. As to the adding a life to the pension I granted unto him for three lives, I very readily consent to that, and authorize Lord North without delay to take the necessary steps for effecting my intentions.

As this fresh touching upon the wish to retire convinces me of Lord North's intention at all events to resign, I can only add that as soon as he has arranged the day of Mr. Thurlow's receiving the Great Seal I will, when I have that office in such respectable hands, not lose an hour in consulting with the then Chancellor, and with some of my principal Ministers now in the Cabinet, how least to the detriment of public affairs to supply what I must ever look upon as so great a loss, the retreat of Lord North from the Treasury, and the conduct of public measures in the House of Commons. Lord North will by this perceive the sooner he can notify unto me that the road is clear for my nominating

a Chancellor, the sooner he will be freed from his present uneasy situation.

"On the very day of Lord Chatham's decease, Colonel Barré rose "in the House of Commons to move that the remains of the great "statesman should be interred at the public charge. He was "seconded by Thomas Townshend, a rising Parliamentary speaker, "afterwards Secretary of State and Lord Sydney. No voice but in "eulogy was raised on this occasion."

"Two days afterwards the subject was resumed by Lord John "Cavendish. He expressed his hope that the first vote would not "be the limit of public gratitude, but that adequate provision might "be made for the descendants of a statesman who, whilst in the "nation's service, had ever neglected his own interests. In this "suggestion also Lord North and the House cordially concurred. "An Address was carried to the King, in consequence of which his "Majesty declared his readiness to grant a pension of 4000*l.* a year, "and invited the aid of Parliament that the same might be annexed "for ever to the Earldom of Chatham. A measure for that purpose "—the Chatham Annuity Bill—was accordingly brought in. The "munificence of the House of Commons was completed by a vote of "20,000*l.* to discharge the debts which Lord Chatham left behind."

"The Chatham Annuity Bill passed the House of Commons with-"out one dissentient voice. Not so among the Lords. A keen "debate, mainly on the plea of public economy, arose upon the "third reading, when eleven Peers were found to vote in opposition "to the Bill, and a protest against it was afterwards signed by four "—the Lord Chancellor Bathurst, Archbishop Markham of York, "the Duke of Chandos, and Lord Paget. Lord Camden, in a letter of "condolence to the widowed Countess, May 30th, says, 'I return to "London on Monday to attend and carry through Lord Chatham's "Bill; which will not meet with any opposition, though some few "Lords, as I hear, are inclined to mutter some dislike to it. I do not "know their names, and I hope they will be too wise to transmit "them with this stain to posterity.'" 'Chatham Correspond.,' iv. p. 526.

"What personal cause to spurn at" Lord Chatham the Chancellor, the Duke of Chandos, and Lord Paget may have had, we do not know. The causes for the sacerdotal wrath are on record. In the House of Lords, December 5th, 1777, Lord Chatham had inveighed with severity against a sermon which the Archbishop had preached and published, reflecting on "the ideas of savage liberty" in

America. "These," cried Chatham, "are the doctrines of Atterbury "and Sacheverell!" "The bad taste," as Lord Mahon mildly terms it, of the Archbishop is the most extraordinary, since *he* could not rise higher in the Church, and so can have had no motive for taking up what the King in this letter looks upon as an offensive measure to him personally. Another Peer showed as "bad taste" as his Grace, at this time. When Chatham lay to all appearance in the agonies of death on the 7th of April, "one only Peer, the Earl of Mansfield, "retained his seat, and looked with slight concern on the fall of his "former rival, 'almost as much unmoved,' Lord Camden writes, "'as the senseless body itself.'"—Lord Mahon, vi. p. 231.

"Chatham," writes Lord Macaulay, 'Edinburgh Review,' October, 1844, "sleeps near the northern door of the church, in a spot "which has ever since been appropriated to statesmen, as the other "end of the same transept has long been to poets. Mansfield rests "there, and the second William Pitt, and Fox, and Grattan, and "Canning, and Wilberforce. In no other cemetery do so many great "citizens lie within so narrow a space. High over these venerable "graves towers the stately monument of Chatham; and, from above, "his effigy, graven by a cunning hand, seems still, with eager face "and outstretched arm, to bid Britain be of good cheer, and to hurl "defiance at her foes."

The City of London indeed presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying that the remains of the great statesman might rest in the midst of themselves, "beneath their own dome of St. Paul's. "But the preparations for Westminster Abbey were already made, "and the Ministers little inclined to show favour to the constituents "of Wilkes."—Lord Mahon, l. c.

The funeral was, with few exceptions, attended only by members of the Opposition. "Calcemus *Cæsaris* hostem" was apparently the prevailing sentiment of the Ministry and the courtiers. "Lord "Chatham's funeral," writes Gibbon to Holroyd, June 12th, "was "meanly attended, and Government ingeniously contrived to secure "the double odium of suffering the thing to be done, and of doing "it with an ill grace."[a]

Neither did the settlement of 4000*l.* a-year upon the heirs of Lord Chatham, to whom his title should descend, quite satisfy the Opposition. In the debate on Lord John Cavendish's motion, May 13th, Col. Barré drew a comparison between the rewards bestowed on the Duke of Marlborough and those given to the Earl of Chatham. "These," enumerating the former, "were," he said, "the princely rewards which

[a] "At Lord Chatham's interment there were not half the noble coaches that "attended Garrick's."—H. Walpole to the Countess of Ossory, Feb. 1, 1779.

" that great officer had received for his signal services in the field; " whilst a paltry nominal 3000*l.* a-year was the only substantial one " which Lord Chatham had received; and yet who would say that " England was less indebted to Chatham than to Marlborough?"*

For some excellent remarks on the "consequences of Lord Chat- " ham's decease," see Massey, 'Hist. of England,' vol. ii. pp. 279-81; and compare with them Lord Macaulay, 'Edinburgh Review,' October 1844; and 'Quarterly Review,' June 1840, p. 266, where Mr. Croker thinks that it was fortunate for himself that Chatham was not again called to the helm of the state. "Heaven spared him " the anxiety of the attempt, and we believe the mortification of a " failure," in reconciling Great Britain with her Colonies.

LETTER 499.

* Queen's House, May 14th, 1778.
40 min. pt. 10 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—Yesterday, when Major Ackland was presented, I told him I should wish to hear his account of the different scenes he had been engaged in since he quitted this island, before he goes into the country, and he having said he should go in two or three days, I desire you will appoint him to come to-morrow morning at half-hour past eleven. The zeal he has shewn made me think him deserving of this distinction; I find he is very sensible of it by his having mentioned my intentions with pleasure.

LETTER 500.

* Queen's House, May 17th, 1778.
2 min. pt. 7 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—Having just read the papers transmitted by the late Sir John Clavering and Mr. Francis to Lord Weymouth on the daring step taken by Mr. Hastings to refuse resigning his employment of Governor

* Col. Barré did not know, or forgot at the moment, that the Tories of Queen Anne left Marlborough to pay a great portion of the bill for Blenheim.

General, and dismissing the late Sir John Clavering from his seat as first Counsellor and from the command of the troops of the Company, I cannot help renewing what I wrote a few days ago unto you, that, if the East India Company do not in the most decided manner remove Messrs. Hastings and Barwell, the dignity of Parliament, and, what is still more essential, the subversion of the legal acts of the Legislature, is anihilated [sic], unless in the most decided manner this affair be taken up in Parliament, I should think by Address: the judges ought also to be removed. It is a daring event that requires great exertion to restore any energy in the affairs of the Company; and as Lt.-G. Coote is not yet sailed, he ought to be detained a few days to be acquainted with the decision that may be taken on this momentous affair.

Hastings remained at the head of the government of Bengal till the spring of 1785. "The proprietors of India stock resolutely "refused to dismiss him from their service, and passed resolutions "affirming what was undeniably true, that they were intrusted "by law with the right of naming and removing their Governor-"General, and that they were not bound to obey the directions "of the Legislature with respect to such nomination or removal." (Lord Macaulay, 'Warren Hastings,' 'Edinburgh Review,' Oct. 1841; Mill, 'British India,' vol. iv. p. 22.)

It is by no means easy, in the absence of Lord North's letters to the King, and with the little aid afforded by contemporary letters or memoranda, to throw all the light desirable upon George the Third's correspondence, from the summer of 1778 to that of 1779, with his favourite Minister. There can be no doubt of Lord North's earnest wish to resign office;* as little that various plans were in

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* Walpole, indeed, thought differently. After blaming Lord North for pleading poverty—we are not told by him on what occasion—he says, "His "emoluments from the Crown would "not have been thought so exorbitant, "nor even—if they had not been "showered on him after repeated mis-"management, losses, and ill-successes "—beyond what had happened to any

agitation both for supplying his place and strengthening his Cabinet. Lord Chatham's removal from the scene afforded an opportunity for incorporating his followers, the Duke of Grafton and Lords Camden and Shelburne, with the present Ministry; and although the monarch never forgave the Duke's abandonment of him in 1770, nor ever forgot Lord Camden's contradiction of his will in the business of Wilkes, the only escape from present difficulties appeared to be a union of the Tories with the Chatham Whigs.

Unluckily the accession of these allies would strengthen Administration only in the House of Lords. Some recruits for the House of Commons were indispensable, since there the abilities of Lord North would be heavily missed. To apply to the Rockingham Whigs was regarded by his Majesty as a dishonour second only to acquiescing in American independence. They in 1778, as they did four years later, would assail his Civil List, deal with the corruption of Parliament, and bring forward other measures which, as his Majesty conceived, his honour could not brook. Were there any leaders among the Opposition of sufficient station and ability for the work of strengthening the Cabinet without bringing into it Lord Rockingham and his followers? Charles Fox, though active in Opposition, was not, until February in this year, wholly "addictus" to the Marquis. He was indeed obnoxious to the King, but he was not regarded as a fixed member of the Marquis's party, and it seems to have been imagined that he might be detached from his political connexions. Had he not started on his career as a Tory, even a violent one? and might not Royal favour, or a show of it, and the emoluments of place, induce him to retrace his steps?[a]

In the Rockingham Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 371, we find proof that Fox and Lord Rockingham took directly opposite views of the proposed coalition. The Marquis declared that he would never have anything to do with any ministry that was *not entirely* of his own foundation. Fox rejoins, "What you, in the many conversations that have "passed between us last summer and the beginning of the winter, "considered as a step of the most dangerous tendency to the "Whig party, I looked upon as a most favourable opportunity for "restoring it to that power and influence which I wish it to have

"other minister. They seemed extorted too, as, besides his inactivity, "he *was always affecting to desire to* "*retire*. And the King bribed him to "stay for two reasons: the first, because he submitted to be only a "cipher, and would carry through any "measures the King or Junto required; the second, because the King "had nobody to put in his place."—'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 305.

[a] To set up mock negotiations with the leaders of Opposition was among the "arcana imperii" of George III. Grenville and Pitt were among the dupes; Lord Rockingham was the victim of such artifices.

"as earnestly as you can do. The very circumstances which you "thought likely to render the proposed arrangement weak, I con- "sidered as means of strength and stability. In short, our difference "of opinion is quite complete. You think you can best serve the "country by continuing in a fruitless Opposition; I think it im- "possible to serve it at all but by coming into power, and go even "so far as to think it irreconcilable with the duty of a public man "to refuse it, if offered to him in a manner consistent with his "private honour, and so as to enable him to form fair hopes of doing "it essential service." He proceeds to ask—"If you should persist "in rejecting all offers of this sort, my next question is, supposing "an administration should be formed partly of those who now act "in opposition, and partly of the present people (always under- "standing the most exceptionable to be removed, particularly North, "Sandwich, and Germaine), whether you would give such a ministry "any countenance whatever? By *countenance* I mean, whether any "of your friends would take employments with such a ministry, if "they were such as were suitable to them in other respects, and "the men with whom they had to act such as they could have "no other objection to than that of coming in contrary to your "opinion."

These questions and arguments are more creditable to Mr. Fox's desire to serve his country, and to infuse into the government a better element, than to either his sagacity or experience. He thinks Lord Rockingham's refusal to coalesce wrong both for his party and his country, but he leaves out of the account the certain hostility of the King to such coalition. Virtually for eight years pilot of the state-vessel, would he now yield the helm and accept his position as a constitutional sovereign? For Lord Rockingham's indisposition to unite his fortunes with a residue of the North Ministry good reasons could be alleged. Had he ever really possessed the confidence of George III.? Had he never been the victim of inconsistent professions and back-stair influence? Had not the King used one language to his Minister, and another to his own friends?* Did not his attachment to Lord North rest upon that Minister's

* As one of several instances that might be adduced of the King's dealings with Lord Rockingham, take the following:—

"Sir Lawrence Dundas told the "Duke of Bedford that a person he "did not name, whom I suppose to be "Colonel Graeme, said that he never "saw the King so affected as he was "at the last great majority of the "House of Commons (for the repeal of "the Stamp Act, 1766), and that he "believed he wished for nothing more "than to be able to change his admi- "nistration." —'Bedford Correspond- ence,' vol. ii. p. 327. Yet the King's next letter was,—"Lord Rockingham,—I "am much pleased the appearance was "so good to-day."—'Memoirs of Rock- ingham,' vol. i. p. 276.

ductility? was Lord North ever during his long tenure of office at any time much more than the registrar of Royal edicts? The foregoing and the following letters furnish an answer to these questions. That the King earnestly sought his country's good I am willing to believe, but he would confer that good himself; it must be the grant of his prerogative; his ministers and his parliaments alike must adopt and shape, but not originate, his wishes.

And what motive derived from his past experience could Lord Rockingham have for imagining that a coalition at this juncture could forward any end which he regarded as essential to the redress or removal of present evils? Would a coalition be strong enough to carry, against a strong-willed master, assent to American independence, abolition of burdensome and costly sinecures, economical reform, improved administration of the Admiralty or of British India, or reduction of the sums lavished in electoral or parliamentary corruption? So long as it was possible for a ministry to say "Le roi le veût," so long was Lord Rockingham justified in refusing the seals of office for himself, or permission to his followers to combine with any section of the present holders of office.

The overtures made to certain members of the Opposition are thus described by the Duke of Richmond in a letter to Mr. Fox dated February 7th, 1779. It appears to have convinced the latter that "delenda erat Carthago" before the Whig party could safely, or indeed honourably, take office, since he not long after became an adherent of the Rockinghams. "The proposal was," his Grace writes, alluding to the floating negotiations in 1788-9, "that Lord Weymouth should "have the Treasury and Mr. Thurlow be Chancellor;[a] that arrange-"ments should be made to take into office the principal men in "Opposition; and that Lords North, Germaine, Suffolk, Sandwich, "Dartmouth, and perhaps some more, might quit their employments "to facilitate these arrangements; that Lord Weymouth would be "most glad to have Lord John Cavendish for Chancellor of the "Exchequer, but would take any other we should agree upon; that "Lord Rockingham and his friends might by themselves fill up the "vacant offices, or take in the Duke of Grafton, Lords Camden "and Shelburne; that the basis of the scheme being a coalition, and "Lord Weymouth being at the head of the new Ministry, it would "follow of course that none of those with whom he had acted (that "is, none of the members of the old Ministry) were to be attacked "for any part of their conduct; that his Majesty meant not to "suffer any of them to be disgraced,—that, on the contrary, he

[a] That is, remain in possession of the Great Seal, as he did in 1782, for Thurlow became Chancellor in June, 1778.

"intended to bestow on them the three blue ribbons then vacant, "and other marks of his favour and approbation to such as should "retire.

"As to measures, none were proposed, except to withdraw the "troops in general from North America, as from necessity or pru- "dence, and to carry on a vigorous war against France, which was "stated as unavoidable. No system was proposed, or even suggested, "by which the dependency of America was to be recovered, or its "alliance as a dependent state procured. No foreign alliances were "in contemplation. The management of the East India Company "and the great possessions in India were never once mentioned. "The dreadful and immediately ruinous state of our finances was "never in question; no plan of future resources, or of present "reformation and economy, was any part of the overtures you com- "municated."

The coalition, in fact, was simply to be this: it was to be a temporary breastwork against the rising tide of ministerial unpopularity; a shield for the King himself, who in the increasing minorities of the House of Commons began to espy a return of Whig advisers, and with them a reversal of the policy he had long recommended and upheld; a covert attack on Opposition, which, had these overtures been accepted, would have subsided into its feeble condition of 1776-7; and, lastly, a provision for sheltering from threatened impeachment the authors or supporters of measures which had purchased, at enormous cost, disaster and disgrace to his people.[a]

A recluse, who however was not indifferent to the political movements of this time, makes the following reflections upon them:—

"You are not alone, I believe, in thinking that you see a striking "resemblance between the reign of his present Majesty and that of "Charles I. The undue extension of the influence of the Crown; "the discountenancing and displacing of men obnoxious to the "Court, though otherwise men of unexceptionable conduct and "character; the waste of the public money—are features common to "both faces. Again: these causes have begun to produce the same "effects now as they did in the reign of that unhappy monarch." Cowper to Unwin, February 13th, 1780.

[a] Of these abortive overtures Horace Walpole gives, in his 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. 338-342, an amusing but rather uncharitable account. We may accept his facts, for he was well-informed; and question the motives he imputes, for he was ill-disposed to nearly every one concerned in this secret traffic for place.

Letter 501.

**Kew, May 19th, 1778.

Lord North,—I have acquainted the Lords Suffolk and Weymouth that as soon as the former can attend on me, and is able to appear at a chapter of the Garter, I shall conferr that badge of honour on them and on Lord Rochford.

When I last year acquainted you with my intentions of conferring the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports upon you, I flattered myself this fresh mark of my regard would have stimulated you to continue at the head of the Treasury, and I intended therefore to have put it on the foot the late Duke of Dorset held it, but certainly never to have granted it for life; the having been persuaded, to answer a particular object, when quite ignorant of public affairs, to grant that office for life to Lord Holdernesse, is not a reason for my conferring it now in that mode. I daily find the evil of having put so many employments out of the power of the Crown, and for the rest of my life I will not conferr any in that mode but where constant practice has made it matter of course.

The many marks I have given you of my friendship must convince you that when I decline conferring the Cinque Ports on you but during pleasure that I will never give this office but in that mode. If you still persist in retiring, though I feel the detriment it will be to my service, I will conferr the Cinque Ports during pleasure, with an additional salary to make it equal to the sum received by Lord Holdernesse; it must be termed an additional salary, that the income may not be encreased whenever the office shall be in other hands.

Sir Robert Walpole's pension during life was natural: he had firmly for twenty years withstood a strong Opposition; the Crown deserted him; and his enemies came into office: no other mode therefore would have done. Mr. Grenville got the reversion of the Tellership before he came into the Treasury as a compensation for his resigning his pretensions to the Speaker's Chair. Lord Northington's pension for life was a shameful bargain of the idol of the House of Commons* to get the Great Seal for Lord Camden.

I shall not object, in addition to the Cinque Ports during pleasure, to grant to your family a reversion of a Tellership of the Exchequer, but should much prefer your remaining at the head of the Treasury, where many opportunities will of course arise by which I may benefit your family without fixing a bad precedent.

I cannot conclude without expressing some surprize that after my numerous letters you have not concluded the appointment of Mr. Thurlow; you want to retire, and yet will not take the first step towards enabling me to arrange matters that I may acquiesce in your request.

"On the 3rd of June a chapter of the Knights of the Garter was "held at St. James's to fill up the vacancies therein by the death of "the Duke of Kingston, Lord Albemarle, and Lord Chesterfield, when "the Earls of Suffolk and Rochford, and Lord Viscount Weymouth, "were appointed." And—"Lord North to the office of Constable "of his Majesty's Castle of Dover; and also the office of Warden "of his Majesty's Cinque Ports; and the office of Admiralty within "the said Cinque Ports and their members." ('Ann. Register,' xxi. p. 222.)

"At this juncture the King, without solicitation, showed his "sense of Lord North's services by appointing him Lord Warden "of the Cinque Ports. To that office at that time was attached,

* The elder Pitt.

" beside the possession of Walmer Castle, the annual salary of 5000*l.*
" Henceforth, then, the official emoluments of Lord North, as First
" Lord of the Treasury, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as Lord
" Warden, exceeded 12,000*l.* a year." [a] (Lord Mahon, vi. p. 235.)

LETTER 502.

* Kew, May 22nd, 1778. 58 min. pt. 11 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—If every man would maturely consider what is most for his own credit, he would conduct himself as the Solicitor-General does on the present occasion. I do not mean by this to take away any of his merit, but to point out that it is judicious as well as very handsome, and must make a deep impression on my mind to his advantage. I must desire that it be examined whether some mark of my approbation cannot be conferred on him on this occasion; but I decidedly decline the arrangement proposed the other day of vacating the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas for the Speaker, whose adverse conduct cannot make me deem it either wise or expedient to place him in that office, more particularly with a Peerage.

I authorize you to send this day for the Attorney-General, when you will acquaint him that there remains no farther impediment to his instantly getting the Great Seal, and that I wish to see him to-morrow after the Drawing-room.

I shall certainly offer him a security equal to the pension Lord Camden now holds, to take effect whenever he quits the Great Seal. I think this arising

[a] We have had already recorded, in Letter 410, a royal gift to Lord North. " Lord North was gradually prevailed " upon to remain in office."—Lord Mahon, l.c. Who, indeed, under such circumstances, could " Bleed with Cato, or *retire* with Pitt"?

We shall find indeed, in March 1782, that Lord North had to refund part of this *gift* in order to square the Secret Service account.

when I see him is more delicate than its being granted on an application from him, or an offer in my name by you previous to my talking to him; but I will fairly tell you I shall try to avoid granting a reversion of a Tellership, as I am anxious to give that to your family whether you remain or not in your present situation.

I cannot fix the particular day for giving the Great Seal to Mr. Thurlow untill after my conversation with him to-morrow, when I will notify the time by letter to the Chancellor, whose personal conduct to me deserves in return every mark of attention.

You shall on Monday receive a letter from me fixing the exact time for this appointment.

Letter 503.

* Kew, May 24th, 1778.

Lord North,—Agreeable to your recommendation, I have acquainted the Attorney-General that when I shall put the Great Seal into his hands I mean to accompany it with the reversion of a Tellership of the Exchequer, and a similar floating pension to that held by Lord Camden, to take place whenever he quits the Great Seal, untill he shall be in possession of the Tellership. He seemed very sensible of my attention in proposing it myself unto him. I did not chuse to fix any day for his receiving the Seal, as you this day again renewed a wish to be dispensed from holding your present employment if I can make any proper arrangement; I will therefore now fully examine whether it be possible to effect any plan that may carry with it a proper appearance, always relying that, if I cannot fix on any mode that I can think of advantage to the

public, you will in that case consent to continue in your present employment.

I have just received your account of the news from Paris, which has an appearance of truth.

Letter 504.

Kew, May 25th, 1778. 19 min. pt. 11 p.m.

Lord North,—It used to be the usual consequence of foreign wars to make Opposition avoid distressing Government, from at least a desire of appearing to prefer the nation's interest to its private one; but this as well as public zeal seem equally destroyed in this selfish and unprincipled age. I am pleased the majority of the House of Commons have rejected such improper motions,* which could not be expected to be greater at a season when so many members are absent.

Letter 505.

* Kew, May 26th, 1778.

Lord North,—You cannot be surprised that the degree to which you have pressed to resign during the space of the last three months has given me much uneasiness, but it never made me harbour any thought to the disadvantage of your worth. Now you are allarmed least you have offended me, when there is not the least reason for it. As you have declared a resolution of continuing if I cannot make an arrangement to my satisfaction, this declaration of yours has

* "Sir William Meredith's motion for "papers on the sailing of the French "fleet from Toulon and the state of "the British navy. It was lost by "117 to 91 on one resolution, and the "other was defeated by 125 to 89 on "Lord North's motion for an adjourn-"ment."—Lord Brougham's note, p. 119.

thoroughly satisfied me, and I trust to be in a few days able to decide whether I can make a proper arrangement, or whether, agreable to your present request, I shall think it best to continue you in your present office: in either case you shall by deeds, not words, see that I have a real regard for you.

Mr. Wentworth's intelligence, if confirmed by other quarters, will require the former orders to be given to Vice-Admiral Byron, but it is not authentic enough to take any step whilst unsupported by corroberating [sic] circumstances.

"Lord North," writes Lord Mahon (vi. p. 235), "could no longer "point with clearness to the choice of a successor. The small party "which Chatham had headed could not hope to form a Government "of themselves since they had lost their chief. The Whigs, under "Lord Rockingham, had, in great measure, at least committed "themselves to the independence of America, and on that ground "Lord North could not but deprecate their return to power. There "was henceforth no great statesman to lead to that middle path, "that course of conciliation without compromise, which Chatham "had pointed out, and perhaps might have trodden. Under these "altered circumstances Lord North was gradually prevailed upon "to remain in office."

Letter 506.

Kew, May 29th, 1778. 20 min. pt. 6 a.m.

Lord North,—It appears rather particular that Mr. Burgoyne should wish to take a lead in Opposition at a season when his own situation seems to be far from either pleasant or creditable. I am sorry you have been so long detained by a question which deserved the fate it has met with.

May 13.—General Burgoyne arrived. He was immediately forbidden to appear at Court, and a Board of General Officers appointed to examine his conduct.

21.—General Burgoyne appeared in the House of Commons, but said nothing, nor was anything said to him; and again on the 23rd, when Mr. Vyner declared he should ask him some questions. Burgoyne replied that he should be very ready to answer any, and should even declare some things that would astonish everybody. On the 26th Mr. Vyner moved for a Committee to inquire into his conduct on the Convention of Saratoga. Burgoyne seconded the motion, gave an account of his own conduct, said nothing hard on General Howe, and complained much of being forbidden the King' presence. On the 28th Wedderburn objected to Burgoyne's sitting in Parliament whilst a prisoner. (Lord Brougham's note, p. 119, and 'Last Journals of H. Walpole,' vol. ii. p. 270 foll.)

LETTER 507.

* Kew, June 2nd, 1778. 52 min. pt. 7 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—In consequence of your repeated solicitations to quit your present employment I have seriously attempted to release you; but am convinced still more than at any other period how detrimental it would be to the public as well as to me, whose interests can never be seperated* [sic ut semper], if I consented to it at present; indeed, your language for the last ten days is the more encouraging as it manifestly has tended to shew a desire in you to continue; I therefore trust that the same attachment that prompts you not to put me under difficulties, will also prevent your being swayed by the unfortunate events which at the beginning of the war may naturally be expected to arise in some of the wide possessions of this great empire, to take the same idea of retiring, perhaps at an hour still more inconvenient if possible than the present. I also trust the summer's repose will enable you to rouze your mind with vigour to take the lead again in the

* This mis-spelling is not peculiar to the King at this period.

House of Commons, and not let every absurd idea be adopted, as has too recently appeared.

I know you complain the House does not attend to your wishes; but your own candour must also convince you that it is impossible your ideas can be followed whilst you have not yourself decided the path you mean to take; the moment you will decide, the love and esteem most of the House have for you will appear conspicuously, and a little attention on your part to the most efficient men will restore due order.

I cannot help touching on another delicate point, but at this hour it would neither be right to myself nor friendly towards you to conceal a single idea. The greatest part of your difficulties arise from entering too far with others in plans of business, but particularly arrangements of employments, without fairly stating your sentiments unto me; if, on the contrary, you sounded my opinion first, you would save much trouble and vexation to both of us; and where can you repose your undigested thoughts more safely than in the breast of one who has ever treated you more as his friend than Minister, and who would perhaps frequently put you on your guard against things which, if consented to, from your being hampered, disgrace my service, or, if refused, distress your mind?

I have kept the packets from Sir Wm. Howe, not to delay your messenger. You will order the proper appointment to be prepared appointing you during pleasure Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports with the salary of 4000*l.* per annum, and will authorize Lieut.-General Frazer to arrange the Dutchy of Lancaster with Mr. Wedderburne on his accepting the office of Attorney-General. I do not see any difficulties in satisfying Lord Clarendon, whose private character is so

much better than that of Lord De Spencer, who on this occasion must yield to settle this arrangement.

I find the Attorney-General takes the title of Yarmouth, which, being a Norfolk man, I had expected. I have directed his attendance after I come from the House to-morrow to receive the Great Seal, and have already signed the warrant for his Peerage, that he may vacat his seat before the prorogation.

Thurlow did not take "the title of Yarmouth," but that of Baron Thurlow, of Ashfield, in the county of Suffolk. He was born in 1732, at Brecon Ash, in the county of Norfolk. His father, Thomas Thurlow, held successively the livings of Little *Ashfield in Suffolk* and of Stratton St. Mary's in Norfolk. Some one, "post fortunam," attempting to flatter him by trying to make out that he was descended from Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary, who was a Suffolk man, "Sir," said he, "there were two Thurlows in that part of the "country who flourished about the same time: Thurloe the Secre- "tary, and Thurlow the carrier. I am descended from the latter."

Alexander Wedderburn replaced Thurlow as Attorney-General, and James Wallace, Esq., succeeded Wedderburn as Solicitor-General.

LETTER 508.

* Kew, June 3rd, 1778. 43 min. pt. 11 a.m.

LORD NORTH ought certainly to acquaint Mr. Wallace that he is to vacat his seat* this day on being appointed Sollicitor-General, and also Mr. Wedderburne on being Attorney-General. Lord Clarendon must be provided for, and that by an office, he being much more respectable than some who may make way for him.

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* In Parliament.

Letter 509.

* Kew, July 3rd, 1778.

Lord North,—Thinking it not unlikely you may see Sir W. Howe within a day or two, I judge it right without loss of time to apprize you that I had a very long conversation with him this day, the substance of which was his very strongly declaring nothing shall make either his brother or him join Opposition, but that Lord G. Germain, and his secretaries Nox [sic: Knox] and Cumberland,[a] have everywhere loaded him with obloquy, that he must therefore be allowed some means of justifying himself; then touched on the intended expedition to St. Lucia, which he in the strongest manner disapproves of; says there is not so fine an army in the world as the troops in America; that the expedition will succeed, but end in the destruction of the troops.

I have also seen Lord Sandwich, who says the East India Company much wish Sir Edward Hughes may be the Admiral named to command in that part of the globe; that he knows he can be persuaded to return if graced with a red ribband. I should imagine, no sailor having lately been graced with it, and two vacancies now existing, it may not be unwise to gratify this wish.

"July 2. Sir William Howe arrived. He had an audience of the "King on the 3rd, and was received favourably. He brought an "account of the army under Clinton having abandoned Philadelphia "for want of provisions, and being suffered to march to New York "through the Jerseys without molestation, on a compromise of his "not destroying Philadelphia." (H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 282.)

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[a] Richard Cumberland, the dramatic author.

Letter 510.

** Kew, July 12th, 1778. 20 min. pt. 4 p.m.

Lord North,—I received this morning from Lord Suffolk an exact copy of the paper from Mr. Wentworth, and made on reading the same remark you do, that I rather wished than expected the French would venture a general engagement with Admiral Keppel, but that I believe the American projet [sic] of harassing our coasts, which the want of frigates almost disables us from preventing.

I have read the narrative of what past between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, and am fully convinced of what I suspected before, that the two old Earls, like old coachmen, still loved the smack of the whip, and that Sir Jas. Wright, to appear a man of consequence, has gone beyond his instructions; certainly it would have been wiser if no messenger had been sent.

I thoroughly consent to your acquainting Ld. Antrim that he shall have the other vacant red ribband.

The directions you have given concerning Lady Powys are perfectly agreable to your instructions.

Do not forget to send to Dr. Davis concerning the election at Eton.

For the secret instructions given to Admiral Keppel, see 'Life,' vol. ii. p. 26, and for his actions with the 'Licorne,' 'La Belle Poule,' the 'Pallas,' and the 'Courier,' ib. pp. 29–32. The seizure and detention of these ships furnished the French with a pretence for charging the British nation with being the aggressors and for issuing directions for reprisals. From papers found on board the 'Licorne' and 'Belle Poule,' and from information given by the prisoners, Keppel found to his astonishment that the French had thirty-two sail of the line, beside ten or twelve frigates in Brest Roads. In obedience to his "secret instructions" if he found the force at Brest superior to that

of the English, he returned to St. Helen's on the 27th of June. He was enabled to put to sea again on the 9th of July, his fleet having been made up to thirty sail of the line by subsequent addition to it, on the 11th, of the 'Formidable' of 90 guns, and the 'Belleisle' of 64. Comp. 'Last Journals' of Horace Walpole, vol. ii. p. 281. "The tools and scribblers of power," according to the Earl of Bristol's (Augustus Hervey) speech in the House of Lords, "were employed in every part of the town to whisper and write "away his character," &c. On the 10th of July the French fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail of the line and a vast number of frigates, sailed from Brest.

Paul Jones landed at Whitehaven on the 23rd of April, and a few days after plundered Lord Selkirk's house at Kirkcudbright ('Ann. Register,' xxi. p. 176); and on June 1st a large American privateer landed at Foggyton, near Banff, in the north of Scotland, and plundered Messrs. Gordon's house, &c. (Ib. p. 185.)

Lord Mahon, vi. p. 212, refers to the 'Quarterly Review,' No. cxxxi. p. 266, for an accurate summary of the transaction in which Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington were mixed up. Sir James was a private friend of the Earl of Bute, and Dr. Addington was Earl Chatham's friend and physician—"the two old Earls." Lord Bute, it seems, had expressed an opinion that Lord Chatham must be sent for, and Dr. Addington, understanding it as a kind of overture or scheme of coalition, conveyed a *message* of it to Hayes. The historian acquits the *Earls* of any degree of blame, and, like the King, looks upon the Knight and the Doctor as a couple of busy-bodies.—See 'Ann. Register,' xxi. p. 244, for the correspondence between them.

"In October Lady Chatham published Lord Bute's negotiations "with her lord by the intervention of Sir James Wright and "Dr. Addington, on Lord Bute's having employed Samuel Martin to "show a letter which imputed overtures to Lord Chatham." (H. Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 293.)

LETTER 511.

Windsor Castle, July 14th, 1778.
23 min. pt. 9 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—The intelligence from Bancroft may not be entirely false, though it is certainly greatly exaggerated, for to intimidate has ever been one of his

chief aims. Mr. Almodavar has expressed a wish to appear as soon as he can a little recover from the fatigue of his journey; Friday is therefore fixed for his audience.

Almodavar, the new Ambassador from Spain, arrived in London on the 13th. Spain at this time was giving the most pacific assurances to the English Ministry.

LETTER 512.

* Kew, July 18th, 1778. 28 min. pt. 1 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—The moment I received the papers from Mr. Robinson last night, after I was gone to bed, after reading it I put it into the box and ordered the messenger to proceed to Bushy: it was so self-evident that the best mode that could be followed you have already this morning settled with Lord Sandwich, that I did not think it necessary to add a letter unto it. There can be no reason to delay issuing the orders till a Cabinet is summoned; what is so clear ought never to be delayed for that formality. I should think the affair of the 'Belle Poule' should be added to the manifesto to be sent to foreign Courts; and France having now cast off the mask and declared war, which must shew we have not been the agressors, but have perhaps shewn too much temper; but I trust in the assistance of Providence to a just cause, and to the bravery of the the nation. How may privateers be encouraged? may not some plan be thought of by that means to distress the trade of the enemy?[a]

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[a] See note to Letter 510; and for the action between the 'Arethusa' and 'La Belle Poule,' 'Life of Keppel,' vol. ii. p. 31.

LETTER 513.

* Windsor Castle, July 25th, 1778.
1 min. pt. [sic] a.m.

LORD NORTH has judged perfectly with regard to Lord Bathurst, and has acted properly in postponing supposing [sic] to guess at his intentions till they were fully explained on paper. I will not object to a pension, but trust, as he would have taken the Privy Seal, that he will be contented with one not exceeding the value of that office, and not expect one equal to that of his predecessor Lord Northington. Lord North will see by this that he is now enabled by me to negotiate this business and arrange it on as reasonable a plan as he can; and, indeed, considering it was Lord Bathurst's own plan, not mine, that obliged me to remove him, he cannot expect to be put on any but a genteel foot; as he wishes office, he certainly can have no claim but to a pension during pleasure.

By the note I received the last evening from Lord Sandwich I trust Admiral Keppel will get between the French squadron and their coast, but I do not think we can hear of an action before Monday.

Lord Camden wrote to the Duke of Grafton after Keppel's indecisive action off Ushant (27th July):—

"Keppel's engagement with the French fleet is only the "beginning of this cursed war. I don't apprehend the French "avoided the action through fear, but policy, and that they came "out of Brest only to provoke Keppel to make the first assault, so "as to be justified in America by maintaining England to be the "aggressor, and so to bring the war within the case of their treaty "of alliance, by which America is bound to assist, and, indeed, to "be a principal in the French war, and Keppel's chasing will be "the *first assault*. These are my politics, for I am, as I always "have been, persuaded that France was determined at all events to "make the war, and I am equally certain that Spain will join, not-

" withstanding the *Spanish Ambassador's* journey hither, which is no " better than an imposture, and that too shallow to impose on any " but children and our Ministers."—See Lord Campbell's 'Lives of the Chancellors,' vol. vii. p. 14, 4th edition.

Letter 514.

Windsor, August 12th, 1778.

Lord North,—The present accounts from America seem to put a final stop to all negotiation. Farther concession is a joke; all that can now be done is steadily to pursue the plan very wisely adopted in the spring, the providing Nova Scotia, the Floridas, and Canada with troops; and should that not leave enough for New York, which may in the end be the case, we must then abandon that place; then we must content ourselves with distressing the rebels, and not think of any other conduct till the end of the French [war], which, if successful, will oblige the rebels to submit to more reasonable [terms] than can at this hour be obtained.

The accounts from America, which were published on the preceding day in the newspapers, related to the failure of the Commissioners. The Americans offered the alternative of acknowledging their independence or withdrawing our troops. The Commissioners, as was foreseen by the Opposition, and indeed by every one except the King and his advisers, laboured under the grave disadvantage of connection with Lord North. They had arrived at an unlucky moment, when the English forces were retreating from Philadelphia, and America was exulting at the news of the Treaty of Paris. The negotiations were not helped by the political leanings of Mr. Eden or Lord Carlisle. Mr. Eden was under-secretary to Lord Suffolk, who, in his place in Parliament a few weeks before, had declared that he would not deign to inquire where a Congress of vagrants was to be found, and had defended the employment of savages in the war. Lord Carlisle, on his part, after the Declaration of Independence, had moved the Address in answer to the Royal Speech, and, echoing its

phrases, had denounced the colonists as rebels and traitors; nor did this poetical[a] but indiscreet negotiator at all mend matters by expressing in Philadelphia his disgust at the insolence of the rebels in refusing to treat with the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty! Johnston forfeited the advantages which he alone among the triad possessed. He had been a colonial Governor, and, as a Member of the House of Commons, had opposed the American war as well as other measures of Government. So far all was well. But now he took upon himself, without the knowledge of his colleagues, to address private letters to the Members of Congress, containing overtures, and even a prospect of reward for their good offices in promoting the objects of the Commission. Another member, through the agency of an English officer's wife, he attempted to gain over by a bribe of 10,000*l.* and other inducements to aid the cause. His words were reported to Congress, and his letters laid before that assembly. A resolution was passed, "that it was incompatible with the honour of Congress to hold any intercourse or correspondence with Andrew Johnston, Esq., especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty and virtue was concerned." A copy of this letter was forwarded to Dr. Ferguson, the secretary of the Commissioners, and drew from Johnston an insolent reply. The Commissioners were treated with derision; Washington refused a passport to their secretary; and their despatches were forwarded to Congress by an ordinary conveyance. In fact, it would have been scarcely possible to have selected three less acceptable negotiators at that particular crisis, unless, indeed, the King, Lord North, and Lord George Germaine, with Lord Weymouth for their secretary, had crossed the Atlantic on this "sleeveless errand." (See Massey, 'Hist. of England,' vol. ii. p. 295 foll.; comp. Lord Mahon, vi. p. 246 foll., who is lenient to the indiscretions of the Commissioners.)

[a] Frederic Howard, Earl of Carlisle, was the author of two tragedies, 'The Father's Revenge' and 'The Stepmother,' and of a small collection of poems. He is celebrated by his kinsman, Lord Byron, in the 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers;' and his unfitness for a Commissioner was noticed at the time by the Duke of Richmond in the House of Lords, March 9, 1778. "I have lately been told," said his Grace, "that one of the governors "in America made objection to the "Congress because some of them sat in "council with woollen caps on. How "inadequate, then, must this embassy "be, where a noble Lord, bred up in all "the softness that European manners "make fashionable to rank,—I say, how "inadequate must such an embassy be "to men in woollen nightcaps! He "cuts a conspicuous figure in the "'Rolliad.'"

Letter 515.

* Windsor Castle, Oct. 5th, 1778.
10 min. pt. 9 a.m.

It is impossible more highly to approve than I do of the proposition of attacking Goree.[a] The whole success must depend on the strictest secrecy; therefore I must insist on no addition being made as yet to the number of those entrusted with the idea. So weakly are we provided with troops, that the only difficulty that occurs is how to furnish the additional soldiers; but I trust with a little consideration I shall be able to chalk out a means of effecting what I look on as so essential a service. It will be necessary, I again repeat it, that no more be added to the present informed of this secret untill it is necessary to order the ships to sail, except Lord Amherst, to whom I would only mention the different modes that may occurr unto me of furnishing the soldiers least destructive to the small means we have to draw from.

I cannot conclude without expressing my thorough satisfaction at the manner in which I have been received by all ranks of people on my late tour. I know from your attachment that this will give you pleasure.

Letter 516.

** Windsor Castle, Oct. 13th, 1778.
20 min. pt. 6 p.m.

I have no doubt next spring Spain will join France; but if we can keep her quiet I trust the British navy will be in a state to cope with both nations. Lord North must feel as I do the noble conduct of the three

[a] Goree, taken from the French in 1758, was restored to them by the Peace of Paris, 1762-63, and retaken from them in 1779.

fifty-gun ships that with so much bravery have driven off seperately ships of far superior strength.[a] I doubt not, whenever it shall please the Almighty to permit an English fleet fairly to engage any other, a most comfortable issue will arise. Armed as France and Spain now are, no peace could either be durable or much less expensive than a state of war. It must now be decided whether Britain or France must yield. I trust in the justness of my cause and the bravery of the nation; and you may depend on my readiness to sheath the sword whenever a permanent tranquility can be obtained, which certainly the present moment is not the one for accomplishing.

Letter 517.

Kew, Oct. 16th, 1778. 55 min. pt. 9 p.m.

The letter from Mr. Wier certainly states the want of provision in a very pressing manner; but should the victuallers under convoy of the 'British King' arrive safely, I should hope that would greatly change the appearance, and that the farther supplies ordered by the Treasury will in convenient time remove the Commissary's apprehensions. One comfortable opinion is suggested by the happy arrival of all these fleets, namely, that the Americans must have fewer privateers than the last year, or these could not have, without some loss, reached their destination.

The West India and Jamaica fleets arrived on the 6th of July. On the 7th of August eleven East Indiamen, about whose safety there had been great apprehension, reached Portsmouth safely. On

[a] The 'Fox,' 'Arethusa,' and 'Porcupine.' For the disposition of Spain about this time see the Duke of Portland's letter to Admiral Keppel. ('Life of Keppel,' vol. ii. p. 69.)

the 13th of September the Lisbon and Jamaica fleets arrived; and in October the French trade was greatly distressed by our numerous captures. See 'Annual Register,' xxi., July–October, Chronicle.

Letter 518.

* Queen's House, Oct. 23rd, 1778.
46 min. pt. 11 a.m.

There cannot be the smallest doubt that Lord Stormont cannot have a competitor for the office vacated by the death of the Duke of Queensbury, considering the embassies he has with distinction filled; Lord North cannot too soon therefore give him notice that he is appointed, and apprise Lord Suffolk, that the necessary warrant may be prepared. Undoubtedly, from the Duke of Northumberland's state of health and years, he is not capable of attending much as Master of the Horse; but I am so desirous of filling it with a man of some standing, and that may be agreeable personally to Lord North, that I very willingly pass over those objections, and authorise Lord North, when he shall see that Duke to-morrow, if he mentions that wish, to encourage him in it.

Lord Stormont was appointed Justice-General of Scotland, *vice* the Duke of Queensberry ("Gay's Duke"—H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, Oct. 30), who died on the 22nd of October. The Duke of Northumberland succeeded the Duke of Ancaster, who had died on the 12th of August. The Mastership of the Horse had been offered to the Earl of Exeter. The Duke of Northumberland was at least sixty-five years of age, was afflicted with the stone, and very lame with the gout. He was a Chatham Whig, and hostile to Lord Sandwich.

Letter 519.

* Kew, Oct. 25th, 1778.

Lord North,—The very sluggish attendance after Easter the last session of Parliament has very much filled my mind on the near approach of the next; and the conviction that it is much easier to prevent evils than to redress them as they arise make[s] it highly proper for me to put before your eyes the necessity of some plan being adopted to effect an early and constant attendance during the next session. Your zeal for my service will make you, I am certain, without loss of time chalk out some mode for this purpose, which, at the same time that my service requires it, will also be a great ease to yourself, and not put you under the dilemma I have often seen, of doubting of critical occasions whether a sufficient attendance would be found. You may depend on my warmest support in this business, and that my disapprobation shall be shewn in the fullest manner to those who swerve from this duty when a sistematical [sic] plan is formed. I therefore trust that by consulting those you usually employ in that branch you may be able in the course of the week to lay such a plan before me. The evils that may otherwise arise are so apparent, that it would be a kind of doubt of your penetration to be taking up your time in stating them.

Letter 520.

* Kew, Nov. 2nd, 1778.

Lord North cannot be surprised that, at an hour when this country is surrounded with impending evils, I should think myself highly culpable if I did not to

the utmost of my ability prepare against them; on that account I the last week insisted on your forthwith preparing a plan on paper for procuring an handsome attendance on the opening of the Session, and a continuance of it during the sitting of Parliament. This you promised to draw up; yet the week has elapsed without your producing it, and your aversion to decide would lead you to postpone it till too late, unless forced by me to what I look upon not only as essential to the conducting public affairs with credit, but as necessary for your own ease of mind; I therefore must insist on your laying your thoughts on that subject before the Cabinet at your meeting on Thursday, and have just wrote to the two Secretaries of State to acquaint them you have my directions for that purpose. Indeed, my dear Lord, though the present scene is not very clear, yet with activity, decision, and zeal things may soon wear a very different appearance.

Letter 521.

* Kew, Nov. 10th, 1778. 52 min. pt. 2 p.m.

On coming this instant home I have found Lord North's box containing a letter that is certainly filled with sentiments of affection to my person, though in other respects not very agreable to my wishes. He cannot be surprised that, engaged in many difficulties, and an opposition to Government formed of men that if they could succeed would restrain no one of the absurd ideas they have sported, I think it [sic] the duty to my personal honour of those in public stations must prompt them with zeal to make every effort to assist me who have unreservedly supported them.

Letter 522.

* Queen's House, Nov. 12th, 1778.
50 min. pt. 6 p.m.

The private letter from Ireland transmitted by Lord North deserves the maturest consideration. Experience has thoroughly convinced me that this country gains nothing by granting to her dependencys indulgences; for opening the door encourages a desire for more, which if not complied with causes discontent, and the former benefit is obliterated. It seems natural to conclude from Mr. Hallowell that the victuallers are safely arrived at New York; the intelligence from France seems natural; the misfortune is we have more to defend than we have ships to employ. If Parliament can addopt [sic] some mode of raising a sufficient number of men for the navy and army, I doubt not that our numberless difficulties, with spirit, assiduity, and attention, would soon vanish.

Letter 523.

** Kew, Nov. 14th, 1778. [1] min. pt. [1] p.m.

It has been a certain position with me that firmness is the characteristick of an Englishman, that consequently when a Minister will shew a resolution boldly to advance that he will meet with support; consequently Lord North's report that the gentlemen who attended the meeting in Downing Street last night will cordially support during the next Session is what I expected; and if on the opening of the Session the Speech from the Throne is penned with firmness, and shews no other end is sought but benevolence to all the branches, provided the empire is kept entire, and invite all who will

cordially unite in that point and in a resolution to withstand the natural enemies of the country, and the Ministers in their speeches shew that they will never consent to the independence of America, and that the assistance of every man will be accepted on that ground, I am certain the cry will be strong in their favour.

I should have concluded here, had not the letter contained the following expression, that Lord North *is conscious and certain that he neither has the authority nor abilities requisite for the conduct of affairs at this time*; the word *authority* puzzles me, for from the hour of Lord North's so handsomely devoting himself on the retreat of the D. of Grafton, I have never had a political thought which I have not communicated unto him, have accepted of persons highly disagreable to me, because he thought they would be of advantage to his conducting public affairs, and have yielded to measures my own opinion did not quite approve; therefore I must desire to have an explanation in writing on what is meant to be conveyed by that word; as also that *a change might be made to the benefit of my service without having recourse to the Opposition.* This is quite a new thought, and till Lord North explains what that means, the idea is quite incomprehensible to me.

If Lord North can see with the same degree of enthusiasm I do the beauty, excellence, and perfection of the British constitution as by law established, and consider that, if any one branch of the empire is alowed [sic] to cast off its dependency, that the others will infalably [sic] follow the example, that consequently, though an arduous struggle, that is worth going through any difficulty to preserve to latest posterity what the wisdom of our ancestors have carefully transmitted to us, he will not allow despondency to find a place in his breast,

but resolve not merely out of duty to fill his post, but will resolve with vigour to meet every obstacle that may arise, he shall meet with most cordial support from me; but the times require vigour, or the state will be ruined.

LETTER 524.

* Queen's House, Nov. 24th, 1778.

IT would certainly appear rather extraordinary if the office of Secretary of War remained long out of the House of Commons during the sitting of Parliament, therefore Lord North cannot too soon at least settle the arrangement. As there is a General Officer who now is at Council, it is of less personal consequence to me who succeeds to Lord Barrington; I therefore fully authorize Lord North to offer it in the first place to Mr. Jenkinson, and, if he declines, to Lord Beauchamp.

Lord Barrington was succeeded as Secretary at War by Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool. Lord Barrington had been Secretary for the second time since 1765, and in the same office for the first time from 1755–1761.

LETTER 525.

* Queen's House, Nov. 26th, 1778.
m. pt. M.* (sic).

LORD NORTH will receive with this the two letters received from Mr. Forth, whose accounts I do not lay

* Parliament reassembled this day. In spite of his Majesty's exhortation to firmness (Letter 522), the Speech was very tame. The Address in the Lords was moved by the Duke of Chandos, one of the protesters against the Chatham Annuity Bill, and Lord Plymouth, and opposed by Lords Coventry, Bristol, and Derby. See H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, Nov. 27th.

more trust on than on the newspapers, but cannot help reading them with some degree of curiosity, as I do those daily productions of untruths.

LETTER 526.

* Queen's House, Nov. 27th, 1778.
30 min. pt. 8 a.m.

THE handsome majority at opening this Session of Parliament cannot fail of giving that kind of credit to Administration, that if activity is shewn in pressing forward such proposals as may furnish the money and men necessary for the many services that are required, I should hope the Session will be much more pleasant than was expected.

In the Lords the Address was carried by 32 (67—35); in the Commons by 119 (226—107), at half-past two in the morning.

LETTER 527.

* Queen's House, Dec. 4th, 1778.
20 min. pt. 9 a.m.

LORD NORTH'S opinion that the intelligence received from Mr. Wentworth, which I return, is full of matter, but not all of it equally deserving of credit, seems fully justified on the perusal of it.

It being very probable that the necessary steps previous to Lord North's going to the long debate this day* may prevent his coming to St. James's, I cannot

* Upon Mr. Coke's (Member for Norfolk) motion on the manifesto of the American Commissioners. It was rejected by 86 (209—123). In this debate Lord George Germaine is reported to have unguardedly said that "the "King was his own minister," a slip of the tongue adroitly corrected by Fox into "his own ill-advised minister."

help adding that the answer from Spain, and the mode addopted by her to both Courts, is as unexceptionable as if her intentions were sincere; if they are not, at least it shews very clearly her intention of taking an active part will not be so sudden as might naturaly [sic] from the first communication have been expected.

LETTER 528.

* Queen's House, Dec. 12th, 1778.
55 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I AM sorry to find the strange-managed dispute between the two Admirals[a] is to be canvassed in the House of Commons, but I think it may at the same time forward what seems much for the advantage of my service—the bringing Lord Howe to the head of the Board of Admiralty; for Administration will somehow or other be too much mixed in this affair, unless a change is made in that department.

Lord Barrington is to wait on Lord North to know what is to be done for him.[b] I therefore authorise you to make such a provision as you may think right; though it should be handsome, it ought not to be extravagant.

LETTER 529.

* Queen's House, Dec. 15th, 1778.
46 min. pt. 8 a.m.

IT is very irksome to me to find Lord North was detained so late at the House yesterday, not on the busi-

[a] *The two Admirals*, Keppel and Palliser.
[b] Lord Barrington had a retiring ponsion of 2000*l.* per annum.

ness of the day, but on the supporting or abandoning the American war.

In consequence of his note yesterday, I have given notice that I shall to-morrow give my assent to the Bills now ready for that purpose.

The enclosed papers I received last night from the Lord Chamberlain, but would not return any answer untill I had communicated unto Ld. North. The paper should only have been entitled a Petition, and not *Address* and Petition. I should think the directing it to be presented as I return from the House of Lords would be the best, and [the] mode that would occasion the least parade.

Debate in the Commons on the Army Estimates. The new Secretary-at-War stated that the whole force in British pay (after an augmentation of 14,000 men) would amount to 314,000 fighting men. 'Parl. Hist.,' xx. p. 73. "A military power," he remarked, "considerably greater than had ever been kept up in modern times, "except in the most flourishing period of the reign of Louis XIV." Compare Voltaire, 'Siècle de Louis XIV.,' c. 29. The entire force of the Roman empire in the age of Trajan by land and sea is computed at 450,000 men. "It was not much to the honour of this "country," says Horace Walpole, "with such an army to have "received nothing but disgraces, and it was ridiculous to hear more "demanded of Parliament, as if 300,000 could not achieve all that "314,000 could." 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 322.

Letter 530.

*Queen's House, Dec. 21st, 1778.
10 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Not having seen Lord Suffolk this day, I had no intimation of the pocketbook that was brought unto Lord North on Friday untill the letter I received at St. James's from Lord North this day. I rather suppose

it will turn out a scheme to allarm than a real design of assassination; it is certainly right to examine such things to the bottom, even when no great credit is given to them. As to my own feelings, they always incline me to put trust where alone it can avail—in the Almighty Ruler of the universe, who knows what best suits his allwise purposes. This being the week I go to the Holy Communion, I had no thoughts of going unto the play.

I shall not add anything concerning the arrangement, as I understand I shall see Lord North on Wednesday, by which time I trust his mind will be formed to speak with more precision than when I conversed with him on Friday; for things were not in the smallest degree more advanced then than when first broached by Lord Suffolk three weeks ago.

Letter 531.

*Queen's House, Dec. 28th, 1778.
10 min. pt. 5 p.m.

By the perusal of the papers concerning the supposed assassination plot, it appears clear that either both the persons that came on Friday night unto Lord North, at least one of them, must have framed this scheme to get money. I rather encline to think it with the cognizance, and consequently meant to the advantage, of both.

LETTER 532.

* Queen's House, Dec. 28th, 1778.
59 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH has, I suppose, this day received a fresh intimation of Lord Suffolk's determination to resign his present employment. By the letter I have received I find him perfectly fixed on that measure. This consequently shews there is no time to be lost in fixing on his successor. I owne every hour more and more convinces me that nothing can so effectually remove the hatred and faction occasioned in the navy by the unhappy breach between the two Admirals as a new head of the Admiralty Board, particularly if of that profession. In time of peace I am not convinced whether men of more general education may not fill that station as well; but in a war, and more so in the present, which is a naval one, it is highly advantageous to have in the Cabinet a person able to plan the most effectual manner of conducting it. Should Lord North, on consideration, be of this opinion, and think Lord Howe the best qualified for this post, it would remove all that altercation which, if he is not during the recess satisfied, will take up the time of Parliament from business more useful.[a]

LETTER 533.

* Queen's House, Jan. 1st, 1779.
58 min. pt. 10 a.m.

THIS instant I have received Lord North's letter, which is wrote in so open and friendly a style, that it has given me infinite pleasure, which arises from the

[a] Compare Letter 534.

real affection I have for him. I certainly feel very forcibly the many arguments that may be used, very cogent in their appearance, yet diametrically opposite. I shall be very ready to hear all he may have to say on the present occasion; but I am certain one conversation cannot sufficiently canvas the subject that a decision can instantly ensue; he may depend on having every idea that occurs to me.

I enclose a copy of [a] most extraordinary paper delivered on Wednesday by the D. of Bolton. All he said was that Lord Hawke and the other admirals that signed it had directed him to deliver it unto me; to which I replied that any paper signed by Lord Hawke and other admirals could not fail of being duly considered by me; you will see it ends without any request, consequently shews only great wrath at Sir Hugh Palliser and the Admiralty.

In the 'Annual Register,' xxii. p. 109, it is said that this memorial was presented by the Duke of Bolton to the King in his closet on the last day but one in the old year. It marked strongly the dissatisfaction of the navy, for two-thirds at least of the admirals who signed it were known not to be in habits of connexion or communion of interests with the Opposition; on the contrary, many of the subscribers to the memorial were warmly attached to the present Administration. The memorial is printed in the 'Life of Viscount Keppel,' ii. pp. 94–97. The King took no further notice of it.

The name of Howe was not annexed to the memorial. That Admiral saw and highly approved of its contents, but was deterred from signing it by motives of delicacy, as he was then in expectation that an inquiry would be instituted in the House of Commons respecting his own conduct in America.

Another memorial to the same effect was likewise signed by a very numerous body of naval captains, but was not presented, it being deemed more to the honour of Admiral Keppel that his conduct should be fully investigated and laid before the public in its true colours.

Letter 534.

Queen's House, Jan. 10th, 1779.
15 min. pt. 9 a.m.

This is merely to remind Lord North that the recess is nearly at an end, consequently there is no time to lose in fixing with the Attorney-General whether Lord Suffolk can be persuaded to remain in his present employment, as also to weigh the inconveniences that may arise if there is no alteration made in the head of the Admiralty Commission, and whether Lord Howe will not, before the expiration of the week, lay the foundation of much altercation for the rest of the Session of Parliament, which a subsequent fulfilling of the promise made him by Lord North whilst he commanded in North America, and renewed through the channel of Lord Clarendon, yet not even at this hour thought of, which to a mind of his delicacy must naturally give lasting disgust.[a]

Lord Suffolk, although discontented with his position as Secretary of State for the Northern Department, did not resign, as was expected, at this time. He died in the following March at the age of thirty-nine. Neither did Lord Howe or his brother Sir William go into Opposition, although Lord Sandwich remained at the head of the Admiralty. Nothing indeed engaged public attention in or out of Parliament except Keppel's trial, which the King and his Ministers were not long in discovering to be a very awkward business. Gibbon a few days later tells Holroyd of "a *dissolution* of Parliament, "which seems to have taken place since Christmas," meaning a general indifference to any other matter than the court-martial at Portsmouth.

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[a] I copy, but do not pretend to understand, this involved period. Many of the letters are written in what is called "conversational style." See Suetonius, *Claudius*, c. 4.

Letter 535.

[a] Queen's House, Jan. 29th, 1779.
37 min. pt. 6 p.m.

I am sorry to hear Lord North is indisposed, but trust with a little care he will soon remove his complaint. By Mr. Eden's[a] note I perceive Opposition, as I expected, when they talk of coalition, mean to dictate. I thank God I am not made of materials, whatever difficulties may ever surround[b] me, to stoop to that. I am certain Lord North cannot too soon see Lord Howe, whom [sic] I trust will be reasonable. Might it not be right to hold out to him the propriety of appointing Palliser to the command of the fleet in N. America, and opening his seat at the Board of Admiralty?

As to the offering the Cinque Ports to Lord G. Germaine, I owne it grieves me, as I feel a pleasure in having spontaneously conferred that office on Lord North; but if on the whole it should be thought [fit?] to offer it unto him, I will not object to his having the same salary as Lord Holdernesse, but only during pleasure. I consent to the pension for the mother and sisters of the late Governor of Senegambia.

Letter 536.

[a] Queen's House, Feb. 1st, 1779.
10 min. pt. 6 p.m.

I have received Lord North's letter, and cannot sufficiently express my approbation of his resolution to do whatever shall be most for my service; I cannot wish to see the Treasury in other hands than those who now

[a] Mr. Eden, Lord Suffolk's under-secretary, was the medium between the Ministry and the Chatham party. [b] *Cirround* in MS.

preside at that Board, but, that I may not appear too obstinate, I do not object, if Lord North thinks the language held by the Duke of Grafton to Mr. Chamier worthy of consideration, to empower Lord Weymouth to see what can [be] engrafted upon it; I trust before this comes to hand that Lord Weymouth will have stated the conversation this alludes to unto Lord North.'

LETTER 537.

* Queen's House, Feb. 4th, 1779.
48 min. pt. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I take the first opportunity of acquainting you that, when Lord Weymouth met the Duke of Grafton last night, he found no reason to ground any hopes that a coalition could be effected: my conduct on this occasion must shew you that I never am deaf to any apparent proposal of general union; though no circumstances shall ever compel me to be dictated to by Opposition. You may therefore now sound Lord Howe, but before I name him to preside at the Admiralty Board I must expect an explicit declaration that he will zealously concurr in prosecuting the war in all the quarters of the globe.

Compare letter of January 29, No. 535.

"If George III. had understood his position as a constitutional "King, he would at this time have consented to form a new "ministry from the leaders of Opposition, and have acquiesced, "without querulous and undignified protestations, in a policy "which in a few years was forced upon his acceptance by the general "feeling of the country and at the point of the parliamentary "bayonet." (Sir G. C. Lewis, 'Administrations of Great Britain,' p. 16.)

LETTER 538.

* Queen's House, Feb. 9th, 1779.
30 min. pt. 2 p.m.

FROM the report of the conversation with Lord Howe on Friday stated that very evening by Lord North, I had no other expectations but that he would decline on a further explanation the last evening. The business may now be drawn to this short reflection, either to look out for a proper person to succeed Lord Suffolk, or, if the faction got into the fleet should render it probable that Lord Sandwich will be less able than a new person to manage that department, then to advance Lord Sandwich to the Northern Seals.

I return the American letters and newspapers.

LETTER 539.

* Queen's House, Feb. 11, 1779.
15 min. pt. 3 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am ready to hear your proposal for filling up the Northern Seals whenever most convenient to you; it does not require great penetration to discover that Lord Carlisle is either pressed to the step [he] is taking, either by his relations or by Mr. Eden, in hopes it may drive you to give up Lord G. Germain.

LETTER 540.

* Queen's House, Feb. 12th, 1779.
3 min. pt. 9 a.m.

THIS morning I have received Lord North's letters; he must now have his eyes fully opened to Mr. Eden's character, that it would but be wasting time in ex-

patiating upon it. He ought certainly to send for some of his friends of the House of Commons this morning, that they may be apprized of this strange phænomenon, and also for Lord Weymouth, that the conduct of both Houses may be similar; he is, I see, also to have an interview with Lord Carlisle; I therefore will be early at my levee, that I may be ready to see Lord North by one; sooner I do not think he can possibly come without omitting some of these necessary matters.

LETTER 541.

Queen's House, Feb. 12th, 1779.
50 min. pt. 10 a.m.

HAVING just heard of the violent attack in the night at Lord North's house, which providentially proved abortive by the activity of the military, I cannot refrain from taking up my pen to desire he will just write word how Lady North and all the family are this morning. I should think this riot requires some serious investigation. I understand six men have been seized in Sir Hugh Palliser's house in the fact of destroying it; sure these are open to the rigour of the law; and if some management is used, perhaps to save their lives some may turn evidence, and the whole plan may by investigation be brought to light; the Chancellor would be a proper adviser on this occasion.

On the evening of the 11th of February a courier to Lord Bristol brought the news of Keppel's acquittal. Sir Joshua Reynolds writes to the Admiral on the 12th,—"The illumination yesterday "was universal, I believe without the exception of a single house; "we are continuing this night in the same manner.

"Poor Sir Hugh's [Palliser] house in Pall Mall was entirely gutted, "and its contents burnt in St. James's Square, in spite of a large "number of horse and foot who came to protect it. Lord North

" and Lord Bute had their windows broke. The Admiralty gates " were unhinged, and the windows of Lord Sandwich* and Lord " Lisburne broke. Lord Mulgrave's house, I am told, has likewise " suffered, as well as Captain Hood's. To-night, I hear, Sir Hugh " is to be burnt in effigy before your door."

" Not only were Lord North's windows broken," says Keppel's biographer, vol. ii. p. 191, "as mentioned by Sir Joshua, but the " mob succeeded in forcing in the window-frames and in gaining an " entrance into the house.

" The military, both horse and foot, paraded the streets for several " successive nights, and thus prevented much further damage."

LETTER 542.

* Queen's House, Feb. 12th, 1779. 53 min. pt. 9 p.m.

I AM sorry Lord North takes so much to heart the division of this day: I am convinced this country will never regain a proper tone unless Ministers, as in the reign of King William, will not mind being now and then in a minority, particularly on subjects that have always carried some weight with popular opinions. If it comes to the worst, the Bill will be thrown out in the House of Lords. The day of trial is not the honourable one to desert me; keep the merit of having stepped forth when I was in distress by staying till the scene becomes serene. If you will but act with vigour you cannot fail of support. On the rectitude of a man's intentions alone must every man trust for real firmness; I am certain, therefore, that on consideration you will, like a man, go on with spirit, and that alone will get you a thorough support.

* "Lord Sandwich, exceedingly ter- " rified, escaped through the garden " with his mistress, Miss Reay, to the " Horse Guards, and there betrayed a " most manifest panic."—H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 343. "It is " pleasant," says the same writer to the Countess of Ossory, Feb. 17, "to " see those who condemned the towns " of America to fire and sword, terri- " fied with crackers."

Sir P. J. Clerke moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill "for restraining any person, being a Member of the House of "Commons, from being concerned himself, or any person in trust "for him, in any contract made by the Commissioners of his "Majesty's Treasury, the Commissioners of the Navy, the Board "of Ordnance, or by any person or persons for the public service, "unless the said contract shall be made at a public bidding." Majority *against* Ministers 15 (158—143).—'Parl. Hist.,' xx. p. 126.

See Letter for March 11, No. 554.

LETTER 543.

* Queen's House, Feb. 13th, 1779.

UNTILL I received Lord North's note I had not the smallest notice of General Mostyn* being ill; I will certainly not take any final arrangement as to his military preferments untill Lord North has any advice to offer as to Sir William Howe; the only thing that could suit him would be a good Government: Minorca would not do, for he is junior to the Lieut.-Governor; but Murray may be appointed Governor, and Howe Lieut.-Governor, which is equally good, or some one else appointed to the Lieut.-Government, who may vacate a Government for Sir W. Howe. I authorize you to talk with Mr. Lascelles as to his nephew's being appointed Groom of the Bedchamber; the regular notice from the Groom of the Stole I will order to be given the first time I see Lord Ashburnham.

I have been considering very seriously on the intended memorial from the naval officers for removing Sir Hugh Palliser from his offices; and seeing in addition that it will also come from the Houses of Parliament, I am clear it will end in his losing his offices,

* "Gen. Sir George Howard, K.B., to the command of the 1st regiment of "Dragoon Guards *vice* General Mostyn."—'London Gazette,' February.

therefore strongly recommend his being instantly removed from the Lieut.-General of Marines and the nominal Government of Scarborough, and give notice of it in this night's 'Gazette.' You may take time to consider who shall succeed him in that office, which I am certain has been the real source of all the mischief that has now broke forth. I believe you will find no one but Lord Sandwich against this step; as it seems inevitable, I owne I think it wiser to do it spontaneously than to be drove to it.

On the very day (Feb. 12) that the sentence of the court-martial on Keppel was read in the House of Commons, and an all but unanimous* vote of thanks to the Admiral was passed, the House was informed that Sir Hugh Palliser had that morning resigned his seat at the Board of Admiralty. Things went on in this manner about a week longer, the Opposition waiting, as they said, to afford an opportunity to the Crown to express its reprobation of the Vice-Admiral of the Blue by dismissing him from its service. How far such a step was from the Crown's intentions appears in the letter of January 29. At length, when an address for Sir Hugh's dismissal was on the point of being moved, the House was told that he had resigned his Licutenant-Generalship of the Marines, and his Government of Scarborough Castle; that he had also vacated his seat in Parliament, and only retained his Vice-Admiralship, as a qualification of his trial by a court-martial which the Admiralty had ordered to be held upon him. Some of these offices were not only honourable, but very profitable also.

LETTER 544.

* Queen's House, Feb. 14th, 1779. 18 min. pt. 9 a.m.

As by Lord North's account of the opinions of the Cabinet to whom he communicated the idea of remov-

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* Mr. Strutt, M.P. for Maldon, was the bold dissenter on this occasion. The thanks of the Lords were agreed to four days afterwards with every external appearance of unanimity.—'Ann. Register,' xxii. p. 110.

ing Sir Hugh Palliser from his military emoluments, that it would be unjust to send him to his trial under the prejudice of a dismission on the part of the Crown, I certainly will not insist on it; though I do not think this will avail him anything, and that it will in the end be thought right to take that step, but that at a later period, and consequently with the additional mortifying circumstance of an appearance of being obtained by force.

As to the Attorney-General's letter, it seems to contain a desire of objecting to whatever is proposed, not a desire of giving solid assistance.

I hope Lord North will by the event of last night learn not to put too much stress on what comes from Lord Sandwich when that Lord thinks himself the object of attack, still less as he chuses to retail the news of so very incorrect a dealer in that commodity as Lord Denbigh.*

LETTER 545.

* Queen's House, Feb. 17th, 1779.
30 min. pt. M.

LORD NORTH cannot be surprised at my thinking the step proposed of removing Sir H. Palliser last Saturday was not so improper as the majority of the Cabinet seemed to think, when Lord Sandwich himself is forced to come now to a mean subterfuge to attain the same end.

* Lord Denbigh was one of "the "Sixteen."—See note to Letter 253, and add to the quotation from the 'Rolliad:'—

"With loyal *Denbigh* bearing birds that sing,
"'Oppose the minister to please the King.'"

LETTER 546.

*Queen's House, Feb. 19th, 1779.
35 min. pt. 10 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—Perhaps there never was a more general run than against poor Sir Hugh Palliser, and that not only from a faction, but moderate men are shocked, and with reason, at his bringing a capital charge, and yet not having proved the smallest appearance of ground for such a grievous charge. Therefore I should hope, Mr. Fox having withdrawn his very severe motion is some proof that men are a little returning to their senses, and will at length see that, though Palliser's conduct is alone to be accounted for by the passion that attended the very ungrounded attack he met with, yet that his services to the public make him deserve a little indulgence.

Palliser, besides the offence here indicated by the King, had made himself very unpopular with the navy and the public by his cross-examination of Captain Jervis (Lord St. Vincent). The following squib was published in the newspapers of the day on the theme of his questions grounded upon idle or false assumptions:—

"*Question:* Supposing the van of the fleet were the rear,
" And the ships furthest off had been the most near;
" And supposing the fleet had tacked or had wore,
" When their rigging was shot, and their sails were all tore;
" And if ships three miles off had been distant a cable,
" Might the fight been renewed?
"*Answer:* No, the ships were not able."

Yet the epithet "poor" is not misplaced. Prior to the unhappy difference with Admiral Keppel, Sir Hugh Palliser was much esteemed in his profession. Charnock speaks of him as "a skilful "seaman and able officer." He served as Lieutenant in Matthews' action off Toulon in 1746; while commander of a small sloop, he captured four French privateers; and in 1757, as Captain of the 'Eagle,' of 60 guns, took a French East-Indiaman after a smart engagement. At the siege of Quebec he commanded the body of seamen who took possession of the lower town. Anson, Boscawen,

and Saunders had the highest opinion of Palliser as an officer; and so indeed had Keppel, who, prior to their disagreement, was in the constant habit of corresponding with him. The King's suggestion (Letter 535) of "appointing Sir Hugh to the command of the fleet "in North America," was therefore ill-timed and not very decorous while the matter was "adhuc sub judice." But some allowance was due to Palliser. *He* was not a Rockingham Whig, nor a friend of the Duke of Cumberland, &c. &c.

Feb. 19.—"Charles Fox told the House of Commons that he had "intended to move an address to the King to remove Sir H. Palliser "from all his employments. He had that morning heard a report "that precluded his motion, for he had been told that Sir Hugh "had been dismissed or removed from all his employments, and "asked if either was true." Lord North said that Palliser had *resigned* all but his Vice-Admiralship. "Fox broke out on the "scandalous tenderness for a man so criminal, compared with "the treatment of the meritorious Keppel, to whom the Ministers "had written coldly to hoist his flag again. Charles Fox, in com-"pliment to Conway, abstained from his motion." (H. Walpole 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 225.) "On a motion from Mr. Dunning, "condemnatory of the Admiralty in so immediately directing a "court-martial upon Admiral Keppel, Mr. Fox declared 'that the "man' (the Earl of Sandwich) 'who deprived this country of two "of her bravest defenders (Keppel and Howe) was a greater traitor "to the nation than the man who set fire to the dockyards.'"

Lord Holland observes on this passage: "I remember Mr. Fox "telling me that at the close of the debate young Pitt (afterwards "the Minister) lamented to him that he did not persist in his "motion, as he (Pitt) feared enough had not been done to prevent "Palliser from ever being employed or promoted. Pitt afterwards "gave him, if I mistake not, Greenwich Hospital, and had, I "suspect, some difficulty in resisting the King's urgent instances "to name him to the Channel fleet." Comp. H. Walpole's letter to Sir H. Mann, Feb. 18. "Palliser has demanded a trial; but the "Admiralty is accused of being less eager to order it than they "were in that of Keppel."

LETTER 547.

* Queen's House, Feb. 22nd, 1779.
35 min. pt. 5 p.m.

I CANNOT see any reason to create a nominal office for a pension to be given with more éclat to Mr. Eden.

The idea of Deputy-Ranger to Greenwich Park above all would be improper: the granting the pension into the hands of trustees for the sole use of Mrs. Eden seems the properest mode.

If Dr. Priestly [sic] applies to my Librarian he will have permission to see the library as other men of science have had; but I cannot think the Doctor's character as a politician or divine deserves my appearing at all in it: instruments I have none in London. I am sorry Mr. Eden has any intimacy with that Doctor, as I am not over-fond of those that frequent any disciples or companions of the Jesuit in Berkeley Square.[a]

The friendship existing between Lord Lansdowne (second Earl *Shelburne*) and Doctors Priestley and Price, "the disciples or companions," &c., did not, at a later period, escape the authors of the 'Rolliad:'—

> " . . . How oft has *Lansdowne* said,
> " Cursed be the toilsome hours by statesmen led!
> " Oh! had kind Heaven ordained my humbler-fate
> " A country-gentleman's—of small estate—
> " With *Price* and *Priestley* in some distant grove,
> " Blest I had led the lowly life I love.
> " Thou, *Price*, had deigned to calculate my flocks;
> " Thou, *Priestley*, saved them from the lightning shocks!"
>
> *Political Eclogue, Jekyll*, v. 37–44.

Letter 548.

Queen's House, Feb. 23rd, 1779.
38 min. pt. 11 a.m.

Lord North,—I cannot refrain congratulating you on the very good success of the expedition against

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[a] "This refers to Lord Lansdowne's (at this time Earl Shelburne's) noble patronage of Dr. Priestley"—Lord Brougham's note, p. 129—and the word "*Jesuit*" to Earl Shelburne's nickname of "*Malagrida*." See Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' p. 715, 1 vol. ed.

Georgia, as also on the taking of St. Lucia. This, I trust, will be followed with farther prosperous events.

On the 22nd news was received of the capture of Santa Lucia by General Grant, and at the same time arrived the account of General Campbell's success in Georgia, where he had met with little or no resistance. The former success was important, since it relieved the West Indian trade from much danger. (See H. Walpole to the Countess of Ossory, Feb. 23.) The latter was made the most of by the Court party, who affected to believe that Campbell with his 1500 men would overrun the Carolinas, where there was a strong Royalist party. At the same time English privateers captured a large number of French merchantmen. D'Estaing, considering his fleet, did us little damage. Exposed on so many quarters, we received no serious blows on any. The French indeed took Senegal about this time, but they found in it only four Englishmen.

LETTER 549.

* Queen's House, Feb. 23rd, 1779.
41 min. pt. 8 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—The account of what has passed in the House of Commons this day would not have called upon me to return any answer this night, had not I wished to touch on the bad attendance stated by Lord North. I cannot help thinking it criminal in any man at so momentous an hour as the present one holding back and not taking an active part: I therefore am ready to take any ostensible step to shew my disapprobation of those who do not attend, and shall very readily concurr in any proposition that may come from Lord North on that subject.

In the debate on "Mr. Fox's motion for Papers respecting the "State of the French Fleet in Brest," Government had a majority of 37 only (134—97).—'Parl. Hist.,' xx. p. 152.

LETTER 550.

* Queen's House, March 1st, 1779.
30 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH'S letter accounts for my not having yet received any intimation concerning Lord Howe. I trust Mr. Doyley will have given you by this time notice; I think it will probably end as the offer of the Admiralty, and the sooner it is known the better, that Lord Sandwich may have my directions to sound Admiral Mann.

The person that has been going between Mr. Eden and the Keppels is so exactly described by his letter, that I make no scruple to say it can only be that busybody Col. Smith. It is plain that the Admiral, though pleased with his reception on Friday, suspects my being a party in the treatment he complains of; the General's pretending that the paper is only levelled at the Admiralty is false, for it mentions a change of Ministers in express [terms], and by name complains of Lord North. Certainly, I cannot stoop to send for the Admiral; if he had happened to come to Court I would have called him and asked him if he meant by his paper to resign his command: by Smith's language it is to be seen, if anything is meant, that, if Keppel remains, the General must also be invited; but I am rather above courting these gentlemen. Lord Howe will also play that game, which certainly shall prove equally abortive.

If Lord Howe would have come cordially into the Admiralty, it might have been a popular appointment; but as he has added conditions that it would be disgraceful to grant, I am clear Lord Sandwich fills the Admiralty much better than any other man in the kingdom would, and that Mr. Eden keeps harping on

that subject from some cause I do not perceive, but certainly no view that would essentially strengthen my service.

The more I reflect on the part I have to act, the more I am convinced that if Keppel does not of himself come to Court, that I ought to wait till he is at Bath, and the Admiralty in such method as may on consideration appear best: get from Keppel when he will be able to head the fleet, which will oblige him to speak out.

For a temperate and dignified letter from Keppel to the King, see his 'Life,' vol. ii. p. 221 (March 12), in which, after expressions of loyalty to his Majesty, he implores "permission not to go again "to sea under men on whom, he has learned from experience, he "cannot depend for that support which is necessary for every "commander." "Hoc erat in votis." On the 18th he received orders from the Admiralty to strike his flag and come on shore.

Keppel *had* come to Court (on the 19th of February). The King received him civilly, but took not the least notice of what had passed relative to him, nor showed him any particular distinction. The Admiral went to Bath for the recovery of his health. Lord Thurlow affected to doubt whether he was in bad health at the time of the court-martial.

Lord Mahon (vi. p. 260, note) says,—"Keppel was, beyond all "doubt, a good officer and a highly honourable man; yet perhaps "his fame with posterity will mainly rest on the sister-arts of "painting and poetry—on his portraits by Reynolds, and on the "description of his character in Burke's 'Letter to a Noble Lord.'" And his Lordship has just before questioned the propriety of Keppel's taking umbrage at a letter from the Board of Admiralty (published in the 'Life of Keppel,' vol. ii. p. 227), in which he cannot "discover a single word or thought to give offence." I confess that to me the letter appears to leave the Admiral no alternative but declining to "go again to sea under men who had treated him with glaring injustice."[a] But if Keppel owe his fame to the

[a] Keppel, with respect to the equipment of his fleet, might have found a parallel in the history of Belisarius. After describing the pomp and bravery of the fleet destined for the African war, the historian proceeds:—"At Methone they experienced how avarice "invested with authority may sport "with the lives of thousands which "are bravely exposed for the public "service. According to military prac-"tice, the bread or biscuit of the

sister-arts *principally*, how can we then account for his contemporary reputation, still less for the King's selection of a *Whig* Admiral to command the Channel fleet?

LETTER 551.

*Queen's House, March 4th, 1779.
15 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH cannot be surprised at my indignation at the number of persons who so shamefully avoided attending yesterday, which made the majority so much less than it ought to have been.[a] I trust you will get an accurate list of the absent, that every means may be tried to get their attendance on future occasions. The Opposition seem to have had the numbers I have frequently heard you mention they would muster, viz. 170.

If you can devise any means I can personally take to assist in getting persons to attend better, you will find me most ready to adopt it.

LETTER 552.

*Queen's House, March 5th, 1779.
20 min. pt. 6 p.m.

THE list of the House of Commons has, I trust, been so accurately prepared, that there will be no difficulty in knowing whose attention must be quickened. I

"Romans was twice prepared in the "oven, and a diminution of one-fourth "was cheerfully allowed for the loss "of weight. To gain this miserable "profit, and to save the expense of "wood, the præfect, John of Cappa-"docia" (then *First Lord of the Admiralty* at Constantinople), "had given "orders that the flour should be "slightly baked by the same fire "which warmed the baths of Con-"stantinople, and when the sacks were "opened a soft and mouldy paste was "distributed to the army. Such un-"wholesome food, assisted by the heat "of the climate and season, soon pro-"duced an epidemical disorder which "swept away five hundred soldiers. "Belisarius expressed his just indigna-"tion; the emperor heard his com-"plaint: the *general* was praised, but "the *minister* was not punished."—Gibbon, 'Decline and Fall,' vol. iv. p. 133, 4to. ed., 1788.

[a] On Mr. Fox's motion of censure on the Admiralty for sending Keppel out with so small a force, majority for Ministers was 34 (204—170.)

trust Lord North will not let his usual good nature accept excuses on this occasion. It is the good of my service that calls forth severity, if on a proper hint a better attendance is not obtained. I hope Sir Ralph Payne* has been strongly spoke to, and Messrs. Doyley and Strachey. The like may not be thrown away on Charles Herbert, who in himself is well inclined, and, if pressed, will certainly go differently from his family. Lord Amherst has wrote to Mr. G. Morris, Lieut.-Col. Laury, and Capt. Egerton, and will get the Duke of Chandos to write for Sir Henry Paulet. I am strongly of opinion that the general officers who through Parliamentary favour have got governments, on opposing, should lose them. This is very different from removing them from their military commissions. In short, Lord North will find me resolved to take every strong measure to keep out a most dangerous faction.

LETTER 553.

* Queen's House, March 9, 1779.
44 min. pt. 8 a.m.

IT is impossible to be more satisfied than I am with the handsome majority of this morning. It shews a zeal in the House of Commons that cannot but stimulate me to my utmost to preserve this country; but it is by this also not less evident how thoroughly Lord North must have spoke out to members, which has opened their eyes, and will, I trust, with a little attention towards them, prevent his being ever again so thoroughly pressed. I wish to see the list of the defaulters who have either employments or military governments.

* He was a member of the Board of Green Cloth.

Lord Howe may now be ranked in Opposition, and therefore I shall not say more on that head. Does not the part taken by Sir James Lowther shew he is not so adverse as formerly; he in himself is scarce worth gaining, but his followers would swell our list. If Johnston
D is brought round, would he not be serviceable in this?

On Mr. Fox's motion on state of the navy. The majority was 72 (246—174). Lord North had obeyed his orders and "whipped" strenuously. Lord Howe spoke against the Government. Sir James Lowther said a few words, and voted with Ministers for the previous question. Mr. Johnston was one of Sir J. Lowther's members. His Majesty is "satisfied with the handsome majority." The reader's attention is requested to the increasing minorities of this year. The Country party is growing weary of North, Sandwich, and Co.

Letter 554.

* Queen's House, March 11, 1779.
25 min. pt. 9 p.m.

Lord North would not have had any answer to his box this evening, as it contained nothing that required it; but as he seemed to take the Contractors' Bill as a personal affront, I could not refrain the pleasure of expressing my satisfaction at the rejection by so good a majority, considering the strange scruples many of the country gentlemen have harboured on that subject.

The Contractors' Bill (see Letter 542) was thrown out this evening by a majority *for* Ministers of 41 (165—124).

Letter 555.

* Queen's House, March 15th, 1779.
12 min. pt. 8 a.m.

Lord North cannot doubt how much I was pleased at seeing that the majority was so very respectable on

the question which it was supposed would be the nearest; this will I trust make the future efforts of the Opposition more feeble. A little civility to those who have come to our assistance, and steadiness of conduct, will infallibly bring things again into order.

On Mr. Dunning's motion respecting the power of the Board of Admiralty to grant or refuse courts-martial. The previous question being put on Mr. Dunning's motion, the majority was 93 (228—135); on the second motion, 97 (218—121).

LETTER 556.

* Queen's House, March 22nd, 1779.
2 min. p. 6 p.m.

THE family of the late Earl of Suffolk may depute any one they please to deliver the Ensigns of the Garter unto me, as the next heir, Mr. Thomas Howard, has declined bringing them unto me. The person who in this case appears the natural channel is Lord Aylesford.

I have directed a letter to be prepared in answer to the one of congratulation on the taking of Pondicherry which the Nabob of Arcot sent, with the Ensigns of the Order of the Bath to be transmitted also by the messenger the East India [Company] is dispatching with the other instruments, and Col. Munro shall be invested in the like manner as Sir John Lindsay was at Madrass.

Lord North will direct a patent to be prepared creating Mr. Rumbold a baronet,[a] which also may go by the same conveyance.

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[a] "Thomas Rumbold, Esq., Governour of Madras, created a baronet, March."—'Ann. Register,' xxii. p. 244.

Letter 557.

* Queen's House, March 23rd, 1779.
34 min. pt. 8 a.m.

The division of last night was so considerable that I should hope, if care is taken to keep people in town, that trials of strength will cease, though debates will be carried on after the recess; though, if the minority find they do not gain ground, they will soon be tired of vain talking.

By an intercepted letter of Bancroft's, received last night, to Mr. Walpole, it seems certain Ternay is not to go to the East Indies. Sure a frigate ought to be sent after Sir Ed. Hughes to recall three of his ships. The reinforcement was ordered on account of the strength of the French squadron; now that has been changed, we in consequence ought not to put three ships out of reach.

"Debate on Mr. Fox's motion of censure on the Government for "not sending out reinforcements to Lord Howe. It was lost by "209 to 135." Lord Brougham's note, p. 131.

Letter 558.

* Queen's House, March 30th, 1779.
20 min. pt. 9 a.m.

Lord North's account of the considerable majority for rejecting Mr. Burke's amendment to the vote of Extraordinaries gave me much pleasure. I ever thought the Howes would, when once they had got the papers into the House of Commons, insist on having them taken into consideration, though they certainly denied at it [sic] to get them. I hope the friends of Government will, by the little repulse of last night, learn to

be less hasty in quitting the House. Opposition can now gain no question but by outstaying the majority.

The majority was 64 (142—78) on the preceding evening.

Letter 559.

Queen's House, March 30th, 1779.
8 min. pt. 6 p.m.

The papers transmitted by Lord North are very curious. I now begin to credit the supposition that the Court of Spain will not take part in the war.

I return the papers concerning the houses on the ground purchased by Sir Charles Sheffield. Lord North has done perfectly right in not granting any unoccupied ground, as it may be an object in time to encrease the stables, which would otherwise occasion the repurchasing it. The estate being now in the public, the rents ought to be received for that purpose.

Gibbon to Holroyd, Feb. 6. "There is a buz about a peace and "Spanish mediation."

See note to Letter 1. "Queen's House."

"At Pimlico an ancient structure stands,
Where *Sheffield* erst, but Brunswick now commands."
'*Rolliad*,' *Probationary Odes*.

Letter 560.

* Queen's House, April 6th, 1779.
10 min. pt. M.

Lord North,—I cannot have the smallest doubt of the propriety of keeping Lord Sandwich in his present employment, and even saying that at this hour no person is so well qualified for holding it; consequently that

what now remains is to find a proper Secretary of State. I am very clear that Lord Hillsborough will be a very attentive one, and his American sentiments make him acceptable to me. Indeed I could never decline receiving him into my service but as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; but before Lord North arranges this he must somehow see Lord Carlisle is not offended. I fear Lord North's language to him will give rise to this, unless he is somehow satisfied; and the disobliging Lord Gower ought certainly to be avoided. By this I do not mean that Lord Carlisle ought to be Secretary in preference to Lord Hillsborough, but that a[n] office of business of a secondary kind ought to be found for him.

The attacks on Lord Sandwich had been violent in both Houses. Fox had moved in the one, and Lord Bristol in the other, that the First Lord of the Admiralty might be dismissed from His Majesty's presence and councils for ever. He was denounced for driving from the service Admiral Keppel and Lord Howe, as a worse traitor to his country than even John the Painter! The motions against Lord Sandwich were rejected by large majorities; still his proven incompetency, and the invectives of the Opposition, were telling on the public and on the service. Several officers beside Keppel declared that they would not serve under the present Ministers, and before the close of this session symptoms of mutiny appeared on board the Channel fleet. Keppel and Howe were deservedly the favourites of the navy. Among the sailors the former went by the name of "Little Keppel," and Lord Howe by that of "Black Jack," as a greater warrior than either went by that of "*le petit Caporal.*" They were of opposite temperaments. Keppel had high animal spirits, "ingens animus in corpore parvo." Howe was saturnine. "We shall soon have a brush with the French, I'm thinking," said an old salt; "I saw Black Jack smile this morning."

Letter 561.

*Queen's House, April 21, 1779.
32 min. pt. 7 p.m.

It is impossible to be more pleased than I am with the very frank manner in which Lord North opened himself to me on the present ill-humour of the Attorney-General; it had the appearance of unbosoming to a friend. It is that has induced me to state as shortly as I can how I think Lord North can best supply this deficiency, and I honestly think he may conduct public business with much more personal comfort to himself; for Lord North is much above any little intrigue, which certainly is very prevalent in the composition of the Attorney-General, and still more so in that of his pupil Mr. Eden. What I have to recommend is, that Lord North would place his chief political confidence in the Chancellor, who is a very firm and fair man, will, if called upon, give on any business his sentiments, yet not ambitious of going out of his own particular line, therefore will not attempt the part of a Mentor, which the two other gentlemen have but too much aimed at not to have caused Lord North much uneasiness, and every quarrel could only be healed by some job. Let the Lord Advocate* be gained to attend the whole Session, and let him have the confidence concerning measures in Parliament, but not concerning the filling of employments, which might, as in the former mode, give trouble.

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* Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, since 1775.

LETTER 562.

* Queen's House, April 30, 1779.
54 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I AM glad to find by Lord North's letter that the examining witnesses on the military conduct of Sir Wm. Howe in North America hath been negatived,* and that it is probable this business will not be farther agitated. My reasoning on this affair has proved false, for I imagined when once it had been brought before the House of Commons that Lord G. Germain would have thought his character had required its being fully canvassed, but to my great surprise on Wednesday I found him most anxious to put an end to it in any mode that could be the most expeditious.

LETTER 563.

Queen's House, April 30th, 1779.
15 min. pt. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am much pleased at finding you view Gambier in the same light I do, for this morning, when I received Lord Sandwich's letter proposing Rear-Admiral Parker as the commander of the detached fleet instead of Vice-Admiral Byron, I approved of it, as it would hasten the business, provided his being junior to Gambier did not throw the command into those hands where prudence and discretion might not be found, though quick tallents for whatever required expedition only; now that I see, as I expected, that Gambier must have the command, I am clear it is better to deferr the sailing a few days that Byron may com-

* See note to Letter 565.

mand. Would it not forward the service to order the ships from Portsmouth to Plymouth that are to make part of the squadron, instead of ordering those from Plymouth to Portsmouth?

Letter 564.

Queen's House, May 3rd, 1779.

Taking it for granted that Lord North would be yesterday at Bushy, I thought it best not to return his box with the French intelligence untill this morning. Should the attack either of the islands of Jersey or Guernsey be attempted with so small a force as 1500 men, I should hope the success may prove not so certain. I understand Lord Sandwich is collecting ships to send to them, which will probably prevent any reinforcement being sent if the first attack should have failed.

Gibbon to Holroyd, May 7:—"You have heard of the Jersey in-"vasion; everybody praises Arbuthnot's decided spirit. Conway" (Governor of Jersey) "went last night to throw himself into the "island."—Comp. H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, May 9, 1779.

Letter 565.

* Queen's House, May 10th, 1779.
15 min. pt. 8 p.m.

If attention has been shewn to get an attendance this day, there is only reason to be sorry that the Universities have lost a revenue they have so long enjoyed; but should that not be the case, they will feel hurt that they have not been so zealously assisted as they might with reason expect.

I am sorry to find by Lord North's letter that the examination in the House of Commons on Sir W. Howe

is taking a turn contrary to his wishes. I owne I never thought the declarations through Lord Clarendon ought to have been so much relied on; and when once the papers were permitted to come before Parliament, and that to crown all Ld. G. Germain chose to bring a specific disapprobation of the landing at the head of Elk, it was impossible to resist the examining witnesses.

"For nearly two centuries the *Universities* of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Stationers' Company, under a patent granted by James I., had claimed the sole right of printing and publishing Almanacs. Mr. Thomas Carnan, a bookseller in London, determined to question the validity of this monopoly, issued, with many improvements on the old form, Almanacs, combined with useful tables and important articles of information. The patentees, to protect their long-conceded rights, filed a bill in equity to restrain Mr. Carnan by an injunction from continuing his sale. An issue at law was directed, and after strenuous argument the patent was declared void, and the bill in equity dismissed.

"To restore the supposed rights thus abolished, Lord North brought in a Bill to revest in the Universities and the Stationers' Company their long-acknowledged privilege. Counsel were heard at the Bar; and Mr. Erskine delivered one of his finest speeches in favour of the general right of publication, founded upon the inestimable privilege of the liberty of the press. Such was the effect of his speech, that several members who, from affection to the seats of their early instruction, had come to the House with an intention to support the measure, added their suffrages to the number (60 to 40) by which it was rejected."—(Adolphus, 'Hist. of England,' iii. p. 35.)

At this period the Almanacs of the Stationers' Company were published within a few days of Lord Mayor's Day, the 9th of November. Before their issue the Master and other magnates of the Company used to go in their barge to Lambeth to present copies of all their Almanacs to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In Erskine's famous speech in 1779, when Lord North brought a Bill into the House of Commons for revesting in the Stationers' Company a monopoly which had been declared illegal by the Court of Common Pleas in 1775, he adverted to the Episcopal revision which formerly existed, when the Universities, as well as the Stationers' Company, were alone authorized to print Almanacs. "It is notorious," said

the great advocate, "that the *Universities* sell their right to the "Stationers' Company for a fixed annual sum: and it is equally "notorious that the Stationers' Company make a scandalous job of "the bargain; and to increase the sale of Almanacs amongst the "vulgar, publish under the auspices of religion and learning the most "senseless absurdities." His respect for the House, he said, prevented him from citing some sentences from the one hundred and thirteenth of the series of 'Poor Robin's Almanac,' published under the revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. "The worst part of Rochester is ladies' reading com-"pared with them. The monopoly of 1779 was destroyed."—(Knight's 'Passages of a Working Life,' vol. ii. p. 58.

Gibbon writes to Holroyd, May 7:—"By some of the strangest "accidents (Lord George Germaine's indiscretion, Rigby's bold-"ness, &c.), which it would require ten pages to explain, our wise "resolution of last Thursday is changed, and Lord Cornwallis will "be examined; Sir William Howe's inquiry will proceed, and we "shall be oppressed by the load of information."

Letter 566.

*Queen's House, May 11th, 1779.
15 min. pt. 7 a.m.

Lord North,—I have very carefully perused the two letters you have received from Mr. Francis; the Company is ruined, and Parliament turned into ridicule, unless Mr. Hastings be instantly removed from his situation. I hope, therefore, you will direct Mr. Robinson without the loss of a minute to see the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, and have the legal steps taken for removing Hastings and Barwell, and that two men of integrity and firmness must be sent to fill up the commission. Harley once wished that employment: I do not mention this from any other view but that a man of his spirit is the best calculated for that scene; it will not be a quiet one. If Coote is not gone, would it not be proper to have his opinion concerning those joined to

him on this occasion? Do not let these two seats be filled by men who it may suit, but find men that suit the situation.

LETTER 567.

Queen's House, May 13th, 1779.
27 min. pt. 8 a.m.

THE account Lord North gave unto me yesterday of the language held the night before by the Attorney-General to Mr. Robinson, has much filled my mind, and the result has been, that, though I believe his temper is much on the fret, yet I take it to have been somehow or other more irritated at that hour, and that he has threatened more than he will perform; for as he is allowed to be a sensible man, he cannot fail, when he reflects, to find that he could not take so unpopular step for himself as to be the cause of the retreat of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and that a Peerage accompanying his advancement would give very reasonable offence to many. The two Chiefs are not likely to stand long in his way: if he came thus naturally into one of those stations, a Peerage might not follow with the bad grace it would now, for his standing would naturally procure him the office, while the Peerage would be to a certain degree the reward of services; but if the Chief Justice is to be pensioned to make room for him, and a Peerage added, it would really be too much; I certainly could not agree to such a proposition. I must not alone consider the difficulty of the hour, but must not, to get rid of that, erect an example which must occasion innumerable evils in future.

If Lord North's arrangements for vacating the Chancellorship of the Dutchy will please the Attorney, I

shall willingly consent to it; but I cannot give way to the plan he has proposed for himself, and I cannot think him in the House of Lords this hour of any advantage to me, and that he may as well retire from my service—nay, better; for that will not draw on the train of dissatisfaction from others that would ensue his being overloaded with favours.

LETTER 568.

Queen's House, May 17th, 1779.

THE bringing the transaction with Mr. Wedderburne to a final conclusion seems so material to the ease of Lord North, that I cannot help once more writing on the subject; I therefore permit his assuring Mr. Wedderburne in my name that he shall have any great office in the law that shall become open, provided he continues to serve till then, and that in such case he shall have a Peerage; that if he is now tired of being at the Bar, he may leave it in every other respect than what relates to the business of the Crown, and to enable him to do so he may be Chancellor of the Dutchy with a competent salary. I trust Lord North will to all conditions accede, not at once, but by degrees; but that, should the Attorney press for any provision for life, that it will be declined at once.

LETTER 569.

Queen's House, May 17th, 1779.

HAVING last night acquainted my third son[a] that I intend to send him under the direction of Rear-Admiral

[a] Prince William Henry Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV. His R.H. rose rapidly in the service, for he was appointed "Post Captain" in the September following. 'Ann. Register,' xxii. p. 245.

Digby to sea, I take this method of letting Lord North know it, as, from the regard I have always had for him, I do not chuse he should hear anything that relates to my family but from myself: all the sea officers I have ever consulted as to the proper age of sending young people to sea have concurred in the opinion that fourteen is as late as so hardy a profession can be embraced with the smallest chance of success: he wants but three months of that age. The boy has behaved with that spirit on the occasion that makes me flatter myself he will turn out well, and I should be ashamed to place my sons in any line where they did not most correctly fulfil all the duties of the station.

LETTER 570.

Kew, June 11th, 1779. 25 min. pt. 10 a.m.

THOUGH I shall return this day unto Lord North the box containing the voluminous papers he delivered yesterday unto me, yet I do not chuse to delay untill noon returning the paper that contains the supposed purport of the Address to be moved this day by Sir W. Meredith, as Lord North may wish to examine it this forenoon, and as the note he sent unto me the last afternoon mentioned his not having read the paper delivered by Mr. Eden unto him on that and other matters of an important nature.

The object of Sir W. Meredith pretends to be the desire of peace with America, that of Mr. Eden to be employed as a private negotiator with Franklin to effect peace with America: it is therefore easy to blend my thoughts on both ideas; indeed, I rather wish to convey my sentiments to Lord North on a very serious subject

on paper, as it will enable him at any time to recurr to this when he wants to know my ideas on the subject.

I should think it the greatest instance among the many I have met with of ingratitude and injustice, if it could be supposed that any man in my dominions more ardently desired the restoration of peace and solid happiness in every part of this empire than I do; there is no personal sacrifice I could not readily yield for so desirable an object; but at the same time no inclination to get out of the present difficulties, which certainly keep my mind very far from a state of ease, can incline me to enter into what I look upon as the destruction of the empire. I have heard Lord North frequently drop that the advantages to be gained by this contest could never repay the expence; I owne that, let any war be ever so successful, if persons will sit down and weigh the expences, they will find, as in the last, that it has impoverished the state, enriched individuals, and perhaps raised the name only of the conquerors; but this is only weighing such events in the scale of a tradesman behind his counter; it is necessary for those in the station it has pleased Divine Providence to place me to weigh whether expences, though very great, are not sometimes necessary to prevent what might be more ruinous to a country than the loss of money. The present contest with America I cannot help seeing as the most serious in which any country was ever engaged: it contains such a train of consequences that they must be examined to feel its real weight. Whether the laying a tax was deserving all the evils that have arisen from it, I should suppose no man could alledge [sic] that without being thought more fit for Bedlam than a seat in the Senate; but step by step the demands of America have risen: independence is their object; that certainly is one

which every man not willing to sacrifice every object to a *momentary* and inglorious peace must concurr with me in thinking that this country can never submit to: should America succeed in that, the West Indies must follow them, not independence, but must for its own interest be dependent on North America. Ireland would soon follow the same plan and be a seperate state; then this island would be reduced to itself, and soon would be a poor island indeed, for, reduced in her trade, merchants would retire with their wealth to climates more to their advantage, and shoals of manufacturers would leave this country for the new empire. These self-evident consequences are not worse than what can arise should the Almighty permit every event to turn out to our disadvantage; consequently this country has but one sensible, one great line to follow, the being ever ready to make peace when to be obtained without submitting to terms that in their consequence must annihilate this empire, and with firmness to make every effort to deserve success.

Debate on Sir William Meredith's motion respecting peace with America. The motion was negatived without a division. ('Parl. 'Hist.' xx. pp. 836–854.)

Sir James Mackintosh observes that "the letter of the 11th "of June is not the composition of George the Third." The original is however in His Majesty's handwriting; and as he intimates that it was deliberately composed, the absence of ungrammatical or confused sentences may be accounted for without resorting to Sir James's supposition. The King, when he took time, did not write ill.

LETTER 571.

* Kew, June 12th, 1779. 10 min. pt. 7 a.m.

LORD NORTH'S account of the proposal of Sir W. Meredith having been rejected without a division is undoubtedly the best method of quashing it; but I cannot help deeming the bringing such a matter at this time forward as very mischievous. America from distress begins to feel, and gentlemen who pretend to be Englishmen are bringing forward questions they know the majority will reject, only to raise the drooping spirit of America.

Vice-Admiral Darby[a] is returned, and will in three or four days be in a situation to sail with Sir Charles Hardy; I am therefore glad to hear the French fleet has quitted Brest, as we shall be in right time to prevent their returning without their hazarding an action, which I am certain must now end greatly to our advantage.

"All people see the necessity of withdrawing the troops from "America. None of the Tories in town stayed out the debate the "other night" (*i.e.* June 11) "except Baldwyn, who voted with "us, and declared himself *sick* of America. One can hardly con- "ceive but they [the French] will make some attempt next summer "either here or in Ireland; and if our fleet is beat, it will probably "be a very serious one." Fitzpatrick to Lord Ossory, June 19. 'Mem. and Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 228.

LETTER 572.

* Kew, June 15th, 1779. 15 min. pt. 5 p.m.

IT is ever my wish to forward any proposal that comes from Lord North as far as I can; as such I accept of his

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[a] George Darby, Vice-Admiral of the White since February.

proposal of arrangements, except in the instances of Lord Onslow to succeed Lord Pembroke, and a Peerage for Ld. Geo. Germain. My reason for declining the first is, that when the Earls of Winchelsea and Aylesford came into the Bedchamber, I told Lord North I was under engagements to Lord Boston, but could wave [sic] them till the next vacancy. I apprized Lord Boston of this, and consequently cannot on a vacancy think of any one but him. It would be an endless repetition to state my objection to decorating Lord Geo. Germain with a Peerage; he has not been of use in his department, and nothing but the most meritorious services could have wiped off his former misfortunes.

As to Lord North's wish of retiring, it would be highly unbecoming at this hour; besides, had I inclined to it, I could never have thought his making the present arrangements a proper prelude to his resigning.

Lord North will apprize the Cabinet that on Thursday Lord Hillsborough will receive the seals of Secretary of State.

Lord North's applications to retire continued throughout the summer and until after the reassembling of Parliament in November. (See Letters 574, 578.)

Letter 573.

Kew, June 16th, 1779. 15 min. pt. 8 p.m.

The division in the House of Commons the last evening was an advantageous event at the close of the Session. I should not be surprized if Mr. Aldmodovar should be ordered by his Court to quit this country. The event might long have been expected; my conduct has not hurried it on: it is therefore our duty with firmness to meet it, an higher Power must decide with what effect.

On the 15th of June Mr. Thomas Townshend moved for an Address praying his Majesty not to prorogue Parliament until the inquiry into the conduct of affairs in America should be finished. The motion was rejected by 143 against 70. But on the very next day Lord North gave some information which involved the prolongation of the Session. He acquainted the House that the Spanish Ambassador (M. Almodovar) had quitted London after delivering from his government a hostile manifesto to the Secretary of State. The manifesto is printed in 'Ann. Register,' xxii. p. 359.

LETTER 574.

* Queen's House, June 16th, 1779.
13 min. p. m.

LORD NORTH'S application to resign within two days of the prorogation of Parliament I can see in no other light than as his shewing his continuation in a desire of retiring whenever my affairs will permit it; for I can never suppose that he, who so very handsomely stepped forth on the desertion of the Duke of Grafton, would lose all that merit by following so undignified an example. The times are certainly hazardous, but that ought to rouse the spirit of every Englishman to support me, who have no wish but for the prosperity of my people, and no view but to do my duty and to shew by firmness in difficulties that I am not unworthy of the station into which it has pleased Providence to place me.

LETTER 575.

Queen's House, June 18th, 1779.
53 m. pt. 11 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I sincerely condole with you on the loss of your son;[a] had I known of his illness I should

[a] His youngest son.—'Ann. Register,' xxii. p. 247.

not have omitted enquiring after him, as I shall ever interest myself in whatever can personally affect you.

Lord John Cavendish seconding the Address was handsome: his party would have stood on very respectable ground had it thrown a veil over former dissentions and offered to assist at this critical juncture; but the motion to withdraw the troops from America overturns every good the former step might have done in [sic] the public. America cannot now be deserted without the loss of the islands; therefore we must stretch every nerve to defend ourselves, and must run some risks; if we are to play only a cautious game, ruin will inevitably ensue.

I have signed the warrants, and by no means press Lord North to come to St. James's when his mind cannot be in a state to make his attendance of utility.

Mr. Fitzpatrick writes to Lord Ossory on the 19th of June:—

"The event of the Spanish declaration has hitherto produced "nothing but a very general consternation and a most univer- "sal acknowledgment of the necessity of changing the Ministry, "which most people think must take place, though, in point "of voting, the numbers were much as usual in both Houses. "Some violent people thought the conduct of Opposition too "moderate upon the occasion, but I think you will approve "of it; for it surely would have been an unpopular measure to "have refused their support upon the present occasion. Lord "John Cavendish seconded the Address, and he with Charles "[Fox], Burke, &c., went to St. James's with it. The Duke of Rich- "mond distinguished himself very much in the House of Lords, "and met with approbation from all quarters. Lord Shelburne "(which some people thought was done purposely) seemed deter- "mined to be as violent as the other was moderate, and pronounced "a most furious philippic in the coarsest terms against the Minis- "ters, chiefly North, Sandwich, and Germaine. Our friend Carlisle "attempted the defence of the latter in a short speech.

"I was in the House, and heard these two speeches. It is still "said that Parliament will be prorogued on Monday (21st June) or "Tuesday."

The Address, seconded by Lord John Cavendish, was in reply to his Majesty's Message to the House on the subject of the Spanish Manifesto (June 17). Both Lords and Commons were unanimous in their indignation against the conduct of Spain, and in their determination to support with spirit the war against both branches of the House of Bourbon. But Lord John Cavendish, after seconding the first Address, moved for another to be presented at the same time, praying his Majesty to give immediate orders for concentrating his fleets and armies, and withdrawing the whole force employed in America. The new Secretary at War (Jenkinson) moved an adjournment, which was carried by a majority of 76 (156—80). The first Address was opposed in the House of Lords by Lord Abingdon, who moved an amendment praying for a total change of system and of men. His amendment was rejected by 39 (62—23). The Duke of Richmond then rose and made a motion—"That in a moment so critical, the most awful this country had "ever experienced, it would be deceiving his Majesty and the "nation if they were not to represent that the only means of re-"sisting the powerful combination which threatened the country "would be by a total change of that system which had involved us "in our present difficulties in America, in Ireland, and at home." After a long debate the Duke of Richmond's motion was negatived by 57 against 32. Twenty of the Opposition Peers signed a long and argumentative Protest—"*the wicked protest*" of the next letter. For the Protest, see 'Parl. Hist.,' xx. p. 893 foll.

Letter 576.

Kew, June 20th, 1779. 30 min. pt. 4 p.m.

Lord North,—The Speech fully answers my expectation, and is framed in handsomer language than common: the debate that may arise on the new writ for the Lord Advocate* is a clear reason for postponing the prorogation to Tuesday. I do not suppose, after the promise you have made unto the moneyed men that no additional paper currency shall be brought into

* He had vacated his seat in Parliament by being appointed Keeper of his Majesty's Signet in Scotland.

the market untill October, that you can wish to apply for any further aid from Parliament, therefore I cannot see the shaddow of ground for delaying the prorogation; the very wicked Protest is proof sufficient that, whilst Parliament sits, new matter to cause if possible general dissatisfaction is the object of Opposition: the high opinion I have of the Chancellor makes me therefore surprised he can doubt the propriety of this measure. By the last paragraph of your letter I see my confidence of the part you would act when pressed by me was well founded; it is that will ever secure you my warmest support.

You will, as you have proposed, make the arrangements for Mr. Stewart and the Attorney-General's friend; the latter will, I fear, and not without reason, greatly offend the clergy.

LETTER 577.

Kew, June 21st, 1779. 55 min. pt. 10 p.m.

LORD NORTH'S having moved for and since presented the Militia Bill is very proper: it is impossible to understand the list of speakers this day, indeed the note at the bottom shews it was very irregular. I trust Lord Sandwich will not on reconsideration wish to have a post-facto law, when if the Bill is carried through with dispatch the loss by going regularly through the business will not be.

I trust Lord North will let no delay arise anywhere at present; if he meets with it in any quarter, I shall instantly be ready to assist in removing it; but I hope, after having so fully stated my sentiments this day to the efficient Cabinet, that I trust every one felt how I am interested in the present moment, and conse-

quently will feel that they can alone hope for my support by shewing zeal, assiduity, and activity.

"To-day we have had a debate in which Opposition have been "less moderate [than on the 19th]. Lord North moved a Bill to "double the Militia, which was seconded by Lord Beauchamp. "What may not be hoped from the activity of Lord North and the "vigour of Lord Beauchamp? Charles [Fox] spoke in favour of "the motion, but strongly against Ministers, and showed what "resources his mind was capable of in this menacing crisis. Tommy "Townshend spoke well and very violently, so did Sir George "Savile and Barré, and the Ministers seemed totally sunk. To-"morrow a remonstrance is expected from the City. An invasion "either of England or Ireland must take place, and surely it is "impossible these Ministers should remain."

"P.S.—Johnstone (Governor) voted with us, and Mansfield not "at all. The Duke of Portland and Lord Chatham voted in Oppo-"sition, but did not protest. Lord Derby, the Duke of Rutland, "Lord Harrington, have offered to raise regiments, but have received "no positive answer to their proposals." (Mr. Fitzpatrick to Lord Ossory, June 21; 'Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 229.)

The Bill for doubling the Militia and enabling individuals to raise loyal corps to assist in the defence of the kingdom was warmly opposed in the Commons, but was finally passed on the 22nd of June, going into Committee on the 23rd. In reply to Mr. Fox on the 22nd, Lord North spoke with great spirit on the subject of his own resignation (see 'Parl. Hist.,' xx. p. 950). The Lords rejected the clause for enabling the King to double the Militia by a majority of 17 (39—22). When the Bill was thus altered, Burke remarked that "this was taking away the original substance, and leaving only the "skeleton of it." Some of the Opposition argued that this Militia Bill was to all intents and purposes a money-bill, that no amendment of the Lords could be admitted in such a Bill without surrendering of the most valuable privilege of the Commons, and that, accordingly, the Bill must be rejected. Another long and hot debate followed, which ended in the Bill being declared not to be a money-bill by a majority of 18 only (63—45). The smallness of this majority and the result of the division in the Lords were evil omens for Administration and highly provoking to the King.

Letter 578.

* Kew, June 22nd, 1779. 15 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Lord North,—The different papers from America shew very clearly that, had not Spain now thrown off the mask, that we should have soon found the colonies sue for pardon to the mother-country. I do not yet despair that with the activity Clinton is inclined to addopt, and the Indians in their rear, that the provinces will even now submit.

I hope Lord North will forward Lord Sandwich's wishes concerning the Bill for taking off for the present minute the exemptions by particular Acts of Parliament from serving on board of the fleet; he seems to think the Attorney-General adverse to the measure. I trust Lord North will not at a serious moment as the present be led away from what seems so very necessary a measure. I trust the House will sit every day but Sunday to expedite business as much as possible.

I owne the Chancellor's language yesterday did not please me; Lord North's explanation does not amend it. The Protest shews that independency of America is still aroused [sic] by the Opposition: it is no compliment when I say Lord Gower would be a poor substitute to Lord North. I cannot approve of such a measure. What I said yesterday was the dictates of frequent and severe self-examination; I never can depart from it. Before I will ever hear of any man's readiness to come into office I will expect to see it signed under his hand that he is resolved to keep the empire entire, and that no troops shall be consequently withdrawn from thence, nor independence ever allowed.

As to the advice of the intentions of France and Spain, whenever an attempt is made on Ireland I

should think they will also make one on this island to keep men's minds in suspense, and consequently try to work on the passions. When a few ragged Highlanders could allarm the nation, there is no doubt 20,000 men landed in England and 10,000 in Ireland would cause great fear.

The papers from America contained the news of Sir George Collier's, the commander-in-chief of the naval force on the American station, and General Matthews's success in Virginia. It was most important to obtain a permanent post on the Chesapeak, because, by that river and the inland navigation of the deep bay into which it falls, not only were supplies conveyed to the middle colonies for the sustenance of Washington's army, but also the principal exports of tobacco were made to Europe, and on those exports the credit of Congress mainly depended. Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport, the principal commercial towns in Virginia, fell into the hands of the English, and a vast quantity of naval and military stores, over and above what the Americans had destroyed in their hasty retreat, as well as many ships richly freighted, were captured or destroyed. Portsmouth would have been a most important position to retain, but Sir Henry Clinton could spare neither ships nor troops* to defend or occupy it; and so, after a successful expedition of only twenty-four days, Collier and Matthews returned by Sir Henry's directions to New York.

A few days after their return from Virginia, Admiral Collier and General Matthews, now accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton, proceeded up the Hudson, and drove the Americans from Stoney Point, where they were erecting works, and took Verplank's Neck, where the insurgents surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Clinton thus acquired two important posts commanding the Hudson, fortified them, and withdrew to New York. It was, however, the Virginia raid only of which his Majesty can have heard on the 22nd of June.

While the Militia Bill was under discussion, the Attorney-General (Wedderburn) moved for leave to bring in a Bill "for taking away

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* In reading the narratives of the war in America (Stedman's, Gordon's, Washington's letters), we are driven constantly to ask ourselves the question what the English commanders were doing with a numerous fleet and army. In this raid General Matthews had only 1800 men and some Irish volunteers, and Collier only one ship of the line, three frigates, a sloop, a galley, and a few privateers.

"all legal exemptions of different descriptions of seamen, seafaring "persons, and watermen and their apprentices, for a limited time; "and for suspending by an *ex post facto* law the right of suing "out a writ of Habeas Corpus for any breach of these exemptions "which may have been or shall be committed from the 17th of "June" [the day on which the King's Message and the Spanish Manifesto were laid before Parliament] "to the 1st of November, "1779." The night was far advanced when the Attorney-General introduced the subject; and he acknowledged that he had purposely chosen so late an hour in order that the newspapers, by premature disclosure of his purpose, might not hinder the effect of the press warrants. The Opposition, admitting the urgent need for despatch in manning the fleet, objected to its introduction to a House already fatigued with debate, and doubted whether portions of it could be justified even by the plea of necessity. The Indemnity Bill—as it was called from its retrospective operation—was, however, read twice before the House broke up after one in the morning. When the House met again it was passed and sent up to the Lords, who, after inserting in it an amendment in favour of colliers, agreed to it, and it received the royal assent at the same time with the Militia Bill, on the 3rd of July. ('Ann. Register,' xxii. pp. 169–172.)

Letter 579.

Kew, June 24th, 1779. [sic] min. pt. 7 a.m.

Lord North,—It is very pleasing to me to find the Militia Additional Bill went yesterday through the Committee, and that the Bill for allowing the pressing of persons under the protection of Parliamentary exemptions was twice read; this is a day earlier than I expected, consequently every way right, for the more dispatch is shewn the more the nation will feel every measure is taken to arm this country.

Lord Amherst talked yesterday with great weight on the necessity of encreasing the generals in Ireland and the encamping the whole Irish army; but as with the question is involved the money necessary for this busi-

ness, I could not think it right to issue any orders on the subject untill I have heard your sentiments.

I have ordered Lieut.-Gens. Haviland and Fraser, and Major-Gens. Grey and Philipson,[a] to be put on the staff of this island; the first to be stationed on the west coast, and Cumberland will be his headquarters; the second to join the camp at Coxheath; the third to join Sir D. Lindsay[b] at Plymouth; and the fourth to go to one of the cavalry camps.

The Duke of Rutland and the E. of Harrington will raise at their own expense, and without any unreasonable jobs for officers. Col. St. Leger will command the first regt., and Lord Harrington the other, without any additional rank. Tents are ordered for such regiments of militia as are not on coast duty, to enable them to take the field if the necessity should arise. Four regiments of dragoons are ordered to encamp in addition to those under similar orders. In short, I begin to see that I shall soon have enfused some of that spirit which I thank Heaven ever attends me when under difficulties. I know very well the various hazards we are open to; but I trust in the protection of the Almighty, in the justness of the cause, the uprightness of my own intentions, and my determination to shew my people that my life is always ready to be risked for their safety or prosperity.

Letter 580.

* Queen's House, June 24th, 1779.
40 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Lord North,—Seeing the necessity of encamping the troops in Ireland in the same light as Lord Amherst, I

[a] Richard Burton Philipson, 1st dragoons.
[b] Lieut.-Gen. Sir David Lindsay, Bart., 59th foot.

have directed Lord Weymouth to mention the measure at the Cabinet dinner this day, that in consequence of the opinion formed Lord Weymouth may write to the Lord-Lieutenant the absolute order for that measure, and mention that the directions received from me were in consequence of the advice offered unto me.

The thought of appointing the D. of Rutland Lord-Lieutenant of Leicestershire, on his very handsome offer,[a] is very wise and well-timed. I should think that I cannot too soon confer this mark of approbation.

LETTER 581.

Kew, June 25th, 1779. 10 min. pt. 7 a.m.

THE hearing that the Additional Militia Bill, and the one for pressing persons exempted by Acts of Parliament, have passed the House of Commons, and that it hath adjourned untill Tuesday, meets with my fullest approbation.

The mode of acquainting the Duke of Rutland may add to the favour; he is a particular young man; a message from Administration will probably not please him. I should think either that Lord Amherst, whom he has seen on his proposal, should acquaint him with my favourable intentions, or that I ought to tell it him myself. The first I own appears to me the most easy and least subject to objection; but I shall settle the whole when I see Lord North this day.

[a] To raise a regiment; see preceding letter. The Duke was gazetted Lord-Lieutenant for the county of Leicester in July. 'Ann. Register,' xxii. p. 244. He succeeded his father in that office.

Letter 582.

* Kew, June 27th, 1779.

Lord North,—The enclosed papers, which I return, confirm me in an opinion long entertained that America, unless this summer supported by a Bourbon fleet, must sue for peace, and that it would ever have been unwise to have done more than what is now adopted, the enabling the Commander-in-Chief to put provinces at peace; but, that propositions must come from them to us, no farther ones be sent from hence; they ever tend only to increase the demands. I can never agree to healing over an uncured wound—it must be probed to the bottom; if it then proves sound, no one will be more ready to forget offences, but no one sees more forcibly the necessity of preventing the like mischief by America's feeling she has not been a gainer by the contest; yet after that I would shew that the parent's heart is still affectionate to the penitent child.

Mr. Harris's[a] [despatch?] shews that nothing can with success be gained from Russia, and it confirms me in the impropriety of having sent Mr. Eden[b] to Copenhagen; I said so at the time. I trust this example will be a reason for not in future taking steps on such very slight foundation.

Col. Luttrel's opinion of the self-established corps in Ireland is not much to their advantage.

I desire Lord North will see that Lord Weymouth puts a final stop to the intercourse between Dover and Calais; we can gain nothing by the communication, and

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[a] James Harris, Esq., afterwards Lord Malmesbury, K.B., was appointed in the preceding February Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. Petersburgh.

[b] Martin Eden, Esq., appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Copenhagen (March).

certainly it enables the disaffected to give much intelligence to our avowed enemies.

The Council must in the course of this week issue the necessary orders to the Lord-Lieutenants and other magistrates enabling them to drive the cattle and remove or destroy haystacks, &c., if an enemy should land. The Generals should also have instructions as well as the others how to sign certificates of the damage done on such occasions to individuals, that Parliament may indemnify the sufferers. Also the Lord-Lieutenants must have letters as soon as the Additional Militia Bill is past, directing them to form additional regiments or additional companies at their option, as the different circumstances of their counties will make most adviseable. I trust these several measures will be so far digested that on Wednesday I may receive notice that all are ready for my final approbation. The Cabinet for communicating the Speech must be on Wednesday previous to my going to Parliament.

Letter 583.

* Kew, June 27th, 1779. 2 min. pt. 2 p.m.

The intelligence transmitted by Mr. Wentworth cannot have much weight when so ill informed as to suppose the Brest fleet not yet sailed. Sir Geo. Rodney's idea that the Spanish fleet cannot reach Cape Finisterre under a voyage of five weeks is very comfortable, and will certainly enable Sir Charles Hardie's [sic: Hardy's] having by that time 38 ships of the line, which certainly may give a very good account of the enemy, should they amount to 50 ships of the line. I shall certainly follow Lord North's hint in taking the first

opportunity I shall meet with the Duke of Rutland to offer him personally the Lieutenancy. I am certain no military man can have insinuated to Lord North the placing another commander in Ireland instead of Sir John Irwin; such a measure would be disgracing an amiable man. It is not by continual removals, and changing measures according to every insinuation, that I can steer the bark in difficult times, but by honorably supporting those who are zealous in my service. If the advice had been to send a good general below him to his assistance, that might have deserved attention. Irwin is practicable, and would hear advice.

LETTER 584.

*Kew, July 2nd, 1779. 8 min. pt. 10 p.m.

I SHALL certainly be ready at St. James's to go to the House of Lords by one to-morrow, and shall apprize the Chancellor, if he has not left Lord Weymouth's office by that time, of my waiting for his going to the House; indeed, the business for Cabinet to-morrow is so plain, that I cannot see how it can detain any time. Sir Charles Hardie [sic] must be commended for not having come within the Channel, and he must be ordered to keep far enough out not to be forced in by a westerly wind. I am confident my language was the only one fit to be held to the Attorney [General]; the shewing him that if he continues to support in his present office he will meet with my countenance in his profession as events naturally arise: in short, I showed him, by inferences not words, that it was more his interest to be faithful than to take any other line of conduct, which would destroy him with me, and make him not

rise in the opinion of any party. His quickness seemed without saying anything to feel the weight of all I meant to convey.

The repeated attempts of the Opposition to obtain an Address to delay the prorogation of Parliament having failed of success, that event, so much desired by the King and Administration, took place on the 3rd of July.

LETTER 585.

Windsor Castle, July 5th, 1779.
[1] min. pt. p.m.

LORD NORTH has very properly transmitted a letter [which] contains intelligence I ought to be acquainted with. I should have returned it sooner, but had no key to the box; was forced to send for a locksmith before I could open it. Lord Sandwich ought to have notice concerning Jersey and Guernsey, that a fleet of proper vessels may be kept there, and he should transmit that part of the intelligence to Sir Charles Hardie [sic], who I trust will without loss of time, if drove to Torbay, attempt to regain his station without the mouth of the Channel.

Might not some attempt be made to intercept the convoy from l'Orient to North America?

General Conway (Governor of Jersey) "is in the midst of the "storm in a nutshell, and I know will defend himself as if he was "in the strongest fortification in Flanders. I believe the Court "would sacrifice the island to sacrifice him." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, July 7.

LETTER 586.

Windsor Castle, July 18th, 1779.
50 min. pt. 5 p.m.

THE extracts transmitted by Lord North agree entirely with the letters that came yesterday from Holland, and make me give credit to the Cadiz fleet having sailed on the 23rd of June; but I do not give the smallest credit to the whole Spanish fleet being either in such order or so manned as to be able to come and join the French; many ships will perhaps. I owne I have not the smallest anxiety if the ships already under the command of Sir Charles Hardie [sic] can bring the combined fleet of the enemies to a close action.* I have the fullest confidence in Divine Providence; and that the officers and men of my fleet will act with the ardour the times require: if the French should land troops, they will have thorough reason to repent of their temerity.

Lord North has done perfectly right in acquainting Lord Sandwich and Lord Amherst of this intelligence.

LETTER 587.

* Windsor Castle, July 18th, 1779.

THE conduct of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is incomprehensible; the answer wrote by Lord North to his letter is perfectly right: but I will permit 10,000*l.* to be sent to answer immediate exigencies: but it is impossible for me to go farther; the Irish Parliament ought certainly to be convened.

* "Sir Charles Hardy is at Torbay with the whole fleet." Walpole to Sir H. Mann, July 11.

The allusion is, I suppose, to the Lord Lieutenant's conduct in encouraging and increasing the number of volunteers.[a] Lord Clare, in his speech on the Union, said, "The imbecility of Lord Buckingham-" "hamshire's government had arrayed the volunteer army; and the "Address to his Majesty voted in 1779 by the Commons, demanding free trade as the right of Ireland, was followed instantly by a "resolution of thanks to that army for their array."

We have seen already that the war with America deeply affected the trade of Ireland, and this year her affairs were actively discussed in the British Parliament. On the 16th of the preceding December Lord Nugent had called the attention of the House of Commons to the deplorable and alarming state of Ireland; and the 19th of January following, after a repetition of his former statements, moved "the establishment of a cotton manufactory, and leave to "export the manufacture to Great Britain, with leave to export "and import to and from America, the West Indies, and Africa." On the 10th of March, on the motion of "Lord Newhaven, a Committee was formed for taking into consideration the Acts of Parliament relating to the importation of sugars to Ireland." In April a non-importation agreement, a leaf taken out of the American book, was resolved upon by the merchants of Dublin, and their example was followed by several counties and towns, particularly Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, Wicklow, and Roscommon. On the 11th of May the Marquis of Rockingham moved for an Address for such documents relative to the trade of Ireland as might lead to effectual measures for promoting the common strength, wealth, and commerce of both kingdoms. The Address was agreed to; but although two subsequent debates arose—May 27th, June 2nd—no effectual measure could be devised, and the Ministry, or rather Earl Gower as President of the Council, entered into an implied agreement to prepare, during the recess, a satisfactory plan of relief.—(Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 27 foll.; Hughes, 'Hist. of England,' vol. ii. p. 406; 'Memoirs of Rockingham,' ii. p. 389; 'Memoirs of Grattan,' vol. i. p. 338 foll.) The Ministry opposed, conceded, promised a little, did nothing—except their best to alienate Ireland, as they had alienated the American Colonies. "The 10,000*l.* to answer immediate exigencies"—that is to say, trade ruined and treasury empty—affords an excellent comment on the driblets of relief granted to Ireland at this time. The Government, indeed, was not alone to blame: the British manufacturers showed themselves to be quite as selfish as the landed gentry, and both classes were adequately represented in Parliament.

[a] "The self-established corps" of Letter 582.

LETTER 588.

* Windsor Castle, July 20th, 1779.
10 min. pt. 10 p.m.

I CANNOT say I credit the opinion that the whole Spanish fleet from Cadiz will join M. d'Orvillier's; if it did, I should not be apprehensive. I trust Divine Providence, the justice of our cause, the bravery and activity of my navy; I wish Lord North could review it in the same light for the ease of his mind.

"The Spanish fleet has sailed; twelve ships from Cadiz the 27th "of May, and twenty more on the 3rd of June. Add to these M. "d'Orvilliers', and you will be surprised to hear the Lord Advocate "has said that he wished to hear Sir Charles Hardy was to engage "them to-morrow. All people see the necessity of withdrawing "the troops from America. One can hardly conceive but they will "make some attempt this summer either here or in Ireland; and if "our fleet is beat, it will probably be a very serious one." Mr. Fitzpatrick to Lord Ossory, June 19, 'Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 229.

LETTER 589.

* Windsor Castle, July 24th, 1779.
58 min. pt. 10 p.m.

THE intelligence transmitted by Lord North so far differs from that brought yesterday by the 'Levant,' that it particularises that the French and Spanish combined fleets expect 12 ships of the line from Cadiz; the other only mentioned that 32 ships of the line were off Cape St. Vincent, consequently we could not tell whether the whole or a part only should come towards us. I may appear strange, but I undoubtedly wish for the action, and feel a confidence in the success that never

attended any other event. Provided Mr. Buller will raise a corps of tinners on the same foot the others raised with officers not in the army do, [sic] I shall think it a most desirable object and of immediate use for the defence of Plymouth. I desire Lord North will instantly send to Lord Amherst that a proper proposal may be sent to Mr. Buller on what foot it may be raised. Lord Faulconberg's regt. must not exceed 700; if more money is collected, it ought to be for recruiting the old corps.

LETTER 590.

*Kew, July 31st, 1779. 59 min. pt. 7 a.m.

LORD NORTH'S box did not arrive till all were in bed. I therefore have this morning examined the abstract account prepared here, and approve very much of the steps taking for assisting Ireland with 50,000*l.*

The Bishop of Derry's* accounts are highly exaggerated, and his means of preventing the mischief so very dangerous that no man in his senses could suggest it.

By yesterday's mail I received an interception from Paris, wrote by Creutz to the K. of Sweden, dated July 15th, which mentions, "Il n'y a aucune nouvelle des "deux flottes; en attendant tout est pret pour la descente; "il y a plus d'artillerie, de munitions, et de vivres qu'il "n'en faut pour une plus grande expédition. Je suis "informé que si la descente en Angleterre devient im- "practicable, on en fera surement une en Irelande, et on "s'empare de *Corke*, dont l'armée Anglaise en Amérique

* Hon. Frederic Hervey, afterwards Earl of Bristol.

" tire tous ses vivres; l'armée Françoise pourra y hiver-
" ner en sureté, le peuple étant riche en vivres, et les
" habitants, dont la plus grande partie est Catholique,
" tres affectionés à la France.

" Le manifeste de la France prouve combien elle met
" d'equité dans ses pretensions.

" Si l'Espagne n'essuye d'échecs, elle ne sera pas si
" facile à contenter; elle veut au moins Gibraltar; et
" si elle a des succés marqués, elle voudra avoir aussi
" Mahon: si l'Angleterre n'est pas écrassée, elle ne peut
" souscrire a de telles conditions."*

LETTER 591.

Kew, July 31st, 1779. 29 min. pt. 4 p.m.

LORD NORTH'S account of the safe arrival of the great Leward Island fleet has given me infinite pleasure; it was expected to be worth 4,000,000*l.* sterling. I am surprized the warrant for the money to be sent to Ireland is not yet arrived. I suppose Mr. Robinson has had Lord North's orders to forward it to me as soon as ready.

LETTER 592.

Windsor Castle, August 3rd, 1779.
[1] min. pt. 3 p.m.

THE account of Charles Town is very probable; but that the combined fleet should exceed 50 ships of the line I do not credit; but be it as it will, I owne I think an action highly desirable: with the advantage of seamanship, which is much in our favour, the enemy cannot

* See H. Walpole's letter to the Countess of Aylesbury, July 10, 1779. He thinks "Gibraltar and Jamaica will be the immediate objects of Spain."

fail of receiving much damage, and the Lizard is so near our ports that our disabled ships have a safe retreat.

"*The runners of Government*," writes Admiral Keppel to Lord Rockingham, a fortnight after the date of this letter, "express "satisfaction that the enemies' fleet have brought themselves into "so certain a situation of being met by Sir Charles Hardy. He "is to destroy the enemy's fleet *by their opinions*." . . . "The letters "from Plymouth suppose that of the hundred ships *fifty-six or sixty* "are of the line—much too large a fleet for an honest citizen not to "be alarmed at the knowledge of." ('Life of Viscount Keppel,' vol. ii. p. 253.)

"Our fleet," writes Horace Walpole to the Countess of Aylesbury, August 19, "is allowed to be the finest ever sent forth by this "country; but it is inferior in number by seventeen ships to the "united squadron of the Bourbons."

LETTER 593.

* Queen's House, August 5th, 1779.
11 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—Having desired Lord George Germain to lay before the meeting this day the account of the D. of Richmond's conduct as related to him by gentlemen who had attended the meeting, and having desired Lord Amherst to produce the letters that have passed concerning the driving the cattle in Sussex should an enemy land, I thought it right to enable you to state that in my opinion it will be highly dangerous to continue the D. of Richmond Lord Lieutenant of that county, that Lord Pelham's name could not fail of pleasing the old friends of the late Duke of Newcastle, and that Mr. Pelham is a very promising young man, who, if he meets with the countenance of the Crown, may become a very useful person in that county. I know many may talk of prudential considerations;

but in difficult times it is the more necessary to prevent evil, and as such it is not safe to let the Duke of Richmond be in an executive office with his disposition to clogg [sic] the wheels of government, and, if he has opportunity, to encourage insurrections. His conduct is authenticated by his letters; consequently if not removed his example may be followed by others. Your good sense must point out this so strongly, that I think it unnecessary to say anything further on this subject.

LETTER 594.

*Kew, August 25th, 1779.
50 min. pt. 8 p.m.

LORD NORTH must see that all Bancroft's news has for a considerable time been calculated to intimidate, therefore no great reliance can be placed on what comes from that quarter; that concerning Prevost is certainly without foundation, the rest may be greatly exaggerated.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Prevost* had twice defeated the American General Ashe, in March and in May this year, at Briar's Creek. His victories had given some life to the Royalists in Carolina. Three thousand of the back settlers rose, seized a town, and declared for King George. Prevost on the 10th of May had summoned Charlestown to surrender, but was not strong enough to attack the city. His Majesty probably refers to Prevost's dangerous position in Savannah, which he defended with great credit to himself. (See 'Ann. Register,' xxii. pp. 181–210.)

Letter 595.

Kew, August 30th, 1779.
46 min. pt. 1 p.m.

The intelligence from Amsterdam requires no other notice than an acknowledgement of having received it; Mr. Home's is a fresh application for what was mentioned some months ago; I certainly do not mean to make any promise, therefore shall not return any answer.

I last week proposed to Ld. Sandwich the measure as wished by Ld. North of assembling the ships that are ready at Portsmouth, at Plymouth; he seemed to hesitate, but if properly pressed will certainly comply.

The moment Ld. Amherst communicated the letters he had received from Sir D. Lindsay, I instantly ordered him to send Sir W. Draper, and had on Friday approved of the other gentlemen. I do not see how Lt.-Col. Campbell could be as yet employed, he being on another service;[a] Sir Guy Carleton dislikes Ld. Amherst[b] so much that it is not very easy to employ him.

Letter 596.

[a] Kew, September 1st, 1779.
38 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Lord North,—It seems right I should apprize you that I have directed Lord Amherst to lay before the Cabinet meeting to-morrow the letter he has received from Ld. Pelham, containing an account of the very factious (at least) conduct of the D. of Richmond at the meeting he had as Lord-Lieutenant summoned,

[a] In South Carolina. [b] Commander-in-Chief.

when he expressly declared his disapprobation of the proclamation, and resolution not to aid or give any direction for driving the cattle; if this conduct is not chastised, it is not to be supposed that magistrates in any county will act, in Sussex certainly none. I do not see, after so public and flagrant an instance of disobedience of orders, how it is possible for any to object to his being removed: indeed, I think it a measure not only right in itself, but that at this hour it would be highly dangerous to continue him Lord-Lieutenant of Sussex. The proposal he makes of raising 24 companies will enable him to bring forward his own creatures; he ought therefore to be first displaced, and Lord Pelham will find the proper persons to be brought forward on this occasion. I can never admit the idea that this expulsion is wrong, least it should make other Opposition Lords resign their Lieutenancies; if this could actuate them to such a step, the sooner that office of dignity is in more friendly hands in every county the better.

On the 9th of July "a proclamation was issued charging all "officers civil and military, in case of an invasion, to cause all "horses, oxen and cattle, and provisions, to be driven from the "sea-coast to places of security, that the same may not fall into "the hands of the enemy." ('Ann. Register,' xxii. p. 219.)

LETTER 597.

*Kew, September 4th, 1779.
5 min. pt. 11 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—The fleet is at Spithead, which will undoubtedly enable the Admiral to get provisions, water, &c., much sooner than if he remained off St. Helens; but as I think it absolutely necessary the fleet should be so quickly provided as to meet the enemy on

the first opportunity, I have sent positive directions to Lord Sandwich to proceed without the loss of an hour himself to Portsmouth, to see every exertion is made, and to acquaint the Admiral that I expect the enemy is not permitted to quit the Channel without feeling that chastizement which so base a conduct deserves.

On the 31st of August the wind, which had driven the combined fleet out of the Channel, shifted from east to westward, and Hardy, with great skill, gained the entrance of the Channel in sight of and in spite of the French and Spaniards. Hardy anchored the next morning at Spithead. Comp. Captain Jervis's (Lord St. Vincent's) letter, 'Life of Keppel,' vol. ii. p. 258, on "the humiliating state "our country is reduced to. Those who have caused it, and who "have committed the most wicked, flagrant, and recent blunders, "are permitted to guide us, I fear to utter destruction."

LETTER 598.

Windsor Castle, September 5th, 1779.

FROM a wish that Lord North should be informed of the subsequent steps I have taken since I wrote to him yesterday, I send a copy of the letter I thought it right to put into Lord Sandwich's hands when he left me to proceed to Portsmouth. He saw it was arming him in the strongest manner; he therefore thanked me for it, and had my consent to make such use of it as he might think advisable; to Sir Charles Hardy he will certainly communicate it at the first interview. I owne the unexpected step of the Admiral's bravely venturing to come to Spithead and take the necessary refreshments without applying for leave, shews me that he is a man of real resolution, and not affraid [sic] of the murmurs that the step may occasion; consequently that, when prepared to follow the enemy, that he will manfully

seek it. None of the popular names would have dared to take such a part; but I am not surprized, for the hand of Providence seems to be taking a part in our favour. I therefore only admire the dictates, and do not presume to take any other line till it is clearer pointed out.

The popular names: the officers who had thrown up their commands—Keppel, Sir Robert Harland, Sir John Lindsay, Captain Leveson Gower, and other officers of distinction. It does not appear that age "incapacitated Sir Charles Hardy" for the post of Admiral of the Channel fleet. (See 'Memoirs of Rockingham,' ii. p. 375.) The danger and also the panic on shore were nearly over. "A "terrible sickness broke out among both French and Spaniards, "and their commanders dreaded the equinoctial gales which were "now approaching. After cruising a day or two longer about the "Land's End, d'Orvilliers made the signal for retiring, and French "and Spaniards went into Brest to perish there of disease. In all, "above 3000 Spaniards died without having done anything, and "the loss of their allies was still greater. For several months the "vast armament lay huddled in port inactive and useless." ('Pict. Hist. of England, Geo. III.,' vol. i. p. 385.)

[Letter referred to in the King's letter to Lord North, Sept. 5th.]

Kew, September 4th, 1779.

Lord Sandwich,—Our fine fleet being returned to Spithead for refreshments I do not object to, provided that is effected with the greatest expedition; but the times will not permit its waiting for every little convenience; therefore I trust on your not losing one moment in proceeding with the utmost dispatch to Portsmouth, and on your seeing that no time is lost in putting on board the several ships what may be absolutely necessary for enabling Sir Charles Hardy to go and meet the combined fleets of France and Spain now in the Channel. I am certain he could never have

wished to take so glorious a command without feeling that ardour which ought to inspire every Englishman at this hour: therefore I am certain he will be eager to meet these faithless people. The spirit of the fleet gives me the fullest confidence that, with the blessing of the Almighty, France will now severely feel that chastizement which so infamous a conduct deserves.

LETTER 599.

St. James's, September 10th, 1779.
49 min. pt. 1 p.m.

I AM glad to find by the note just received from Lord North that he has adopted the mode I thought best of opening the business of the Board of Trade to Lord George Germain; but must desire he will alter the first paragraph, which looks too favourable: I certainly have no intention to confer a Peerage on Lord George, and therefore cannot wish that Lord North should be holding forth what will not be realized. If Lord North simplifies that article to my wishing, Lord George would continue in office, and entirely omit the other idea; and if he should speak on the subject, always contend that I have ever waved [sic] entering on the subject.

The Board of Trade and Plantations had been recently revived by Lord North; for some years it had been absorbed by the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Board was soon to perish under the eloquent attacks of Burke. Gibbon was a member of it. "By the strong recommendations of Mr. Wedderburn and the "favourable disposition of Lord North, I was appointed one of the "Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and my private "income was enlarged by a clear addition of between seven and "eight hundred pounds a-year. The fancy of a hostile orator may "paint in the strong colours of ridicule 'the perpetual virtual "adjournment and the unbroken sitting vacation of the Board of

"Trade.' But it must be allowed that our duty was not intolerably severe, and that I enjoyed many days and weeks of repose without being called away from my library to my office."* (See Burke's Speech on Reform, pp. 72–80.) Sentence of death was pronounced on the Board of Trade on the 13th of March, 1780, by a majority of eight—execution, however, was deferred until 1782. (Prior, 'Life of Burke,' p. 187, 5th ed., Bohn.)

LETTER 600.

* Windsor Castle, September 27th, 1779.

As I do not propose going to town till Friday unless some unexpected event should require my presence sooner, I do not chuse to delay reminding Lord North of the letter I had advised him to write to Lord George Germain in answer to the one wherein he submitted, though reluctantly, to the re-establishment of a First Lord of Trade in favour of Lord Carlisle: if the letter has not yet been wrote, I would advise that, after mentioning my approbation of Lord George's conduct on this occasion, yet that I differ with him in opinion as to its being a degrading of his office; that I look upon it as very different, it placing him in every respect on the same line as the two antient Secretaries, and that it will place Lord Carlisle in an executive office, not one of direction of measures, [in] which it might not have been right to place the signer of the proclamation of the last year as far as regards America.

The reason I am anxious no time may be lost in finishing this business is that Stormont may be immediately sent for. He ought to be some time in office

* "King George, in a fright
"Lest Gibbon should write
"The Hist'ry of England's disgrace,
"Thought no way so sure
"His pen to secure
"As to give the Historian a place."

These lines were at the time attributed to Charles Fox, but were disowned by Lord Holland as "certainly "not my uncle's composition."

before he will be so far master of the business as to be of that use in Parliament which I have every reason to suppose his abilities the last Session will enable him to be of; besides, it will enable Lord North to settle with Lord Carlisle, which should not be delayed an hour. As to Lord Talbot, I will answer that he will resign with good humour the hour he is assured he shall get the Barony[a] and the Wardrobe; that will enable Lord North to recommend Lord Hillsborough to the office he most wishes of any in my service; and by removing Lord Littleton [sic],[b] whose private character makes him no credit to my service, Lord Charles Spencer may be placed much to his mind,[c] and the D. of Marlborough consequently pleased, who is certainly very deserving of it from an uniform conduct towards me ever since I have known him: this will shew to the world my resolution of carrying matters with spirit, and will secure the loose ones who are looking to see what part will be taken before they decide.

Letter 601.

* Windsor Castle, October 11th, 1779.

The intelligence from North America is far from unpleasant: it shews that with the force, small as it was, that was sent this summer, that had it arrived early much might have been done this year: the reinforcement the next must at all events be sent by the

[a] Earl Talbot to the dignity of a *Baron* of Great Britain, by the name, &c., of Baron Dinevor, of Dinevor, Carmarthenshire, September 1780.

[b] "The *bad* Lord Lyttelton," for a full account of whom see 'Quarterly Review' for December 1851. He died on the 27th of November 1779. "The "second Lyttelton, by the profligacy "of his conduct and the abuse of his "talents, seemed to emulate Dryden's "Duke of Buckingham, or Pope's Duke "of Wharton, both of whom he re-"sembled in the superiority of his "natural endowments as well as in the "peculiarity of his end."—Wraxall's 'Hist. Memoirs,' vol. i. p. 319.

[c] Lord Charles Spencer was made Treasurer of his Majesty's Chamber.

first week in March. Clinton must be kept there at all events.

I should hope to find a note from Lord North either at Kew or St. James's to-morrow, with an opinion whether I had not best open the affair of Lord Gower to Lord Weymouth, and offer him the Presidency of the Council.[a] I would add that Lord North entirely coincides with me in the propriety of the arrangement. This would advance matters; for the sooner Lord Stormont is appointed the better. The last letters from Harris give a chance of some good from Russia, but it must be followed up from hence; such an event would give great credit to Administration.

The changes and appointments mentioned in this and preceding letters were:—

Since the death of Lord Suffolk (March), by which the Northern Department became vacant, Lord Weymouth had held both the Northern and Southern Seals. He now resigned both Secretaryships, and Lord Hillsborough was appointed to the Southern Department, while the Northern was given to Lord Stormont, late Ambassador at the French Court. Lord Stormont had passed his life in diplomacy, and had resided many years on the Continent, at the Courts of Dresden, Vienna, and Paris, and the King accordingly wished him to serve, before Parliament met, some apprenticeship in *Home* affairs.[b] But he was now exceedingly unpopular, for it was thought he had been slow in detecting the hostile plans of France. The Earl of Carlisle, late Commissioner in America, was appointed First Lord of Trade and Plantations, and Earl Gower was replaced by Earl Bathurst as President of the Council. None of these changes strengthened Lord North, who renewed his applications to be suffered to resign. It was understood that his Cabinet was by no means unanimous, and the Bedford party were preparing to quit a tottering house. Thurlow was perhaps in debate Lord North's greatest acquisition, but in the Cabinet he was neither active nor agreeable; while Wedderburn's restless vanity was a source of

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[a] Earl Gower resigned the office of President of the Council, and was replaced by Earl Bathurst (the ex-Chancellor) in November.

[b] For Lord Stormont see Wraxall's 'Hist. Memoirs,' vol. i. p. 509.

anxiety, if not of actual weakness. The King's pertinacious favour alone held together these jarring elements.

Letter 602.

* Windsor Castle, October 16th, 1779.
46 min. pt. 4 p.m.

I CANNOT say the letter from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland contains much information except that of his desire to conform himself to such directions as he may receive from hence, which is, I am sorry to say, the first time he has shewed such an inclination. The late Mr. Grenville used, whenever a contest was expected, to follow the mode proposed on the present occasion by Lord North, namely, prepare the warrant for my signature instead of that of the Treasury. If the D. of Northumberland requires some gold pills for the election, it would be wrong not to give him some assistance.

The Middlesex election: one seat for that county was vacated by the death in September of Sergeant Glynn, Recorder of London and Exeter, and member for Middlesex.

Letter 603.

* Kew, November 20th, 1779.

BEFORE I had received Lord North's letter I had read the official letter from the Ld.-Lieut. of Ireland to Ld. Weymouth on the very daring outrage at Dublin, and was sorry to see so little exertions either from Parliament or the magistrates to quell so violent an insurrection. Perhaps this may open the eyes of those gentlemen, and shew them that if they encourage such assemblys that kingdom must inevitably be ruined.

As to the idea of an enquiry into the state of Plymouth when the French appeared before that place, I never doubted it would be brought up in Parliament: I wish to have no one plagued, but I cannot see how some kind of examination into that affair can be prevented, and Ld. Amherst has always appeared to me ready to meet such an event. The affair relates to him and the Ordnance; if they can defend themselves, I do not see any evil can arise; if they have not done their duty, it is right it should be known.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, Nov. 15 ('Ann. Register,' xxii. p. 233):—

"The present expectation of a free trade, or rather the dread "of a disappointment, agitates everybody to a degree that you can "hardly imagine. In order to compel England to grant it, the "popular measure is, to grant a money-bill for six months only, "instead of two years. Some of the best friends of this country "and the most sensible seem to think this not the most effectual "or eligible mode, as being too early a declaration of war till we "are refused what we ask; but they are obliged to concur, as it is "the only scheme which can procure unanimity among Opposition, "and is so much the popular cry, that every county and town have "instructed their representatives to vote for it. This morning the "mob, not choosing to wait for a parliamentary decision, took the "matter into their own hands, and were of opinion that the surest "method of succeeding in their object of a free-trade was to destroy "the enemies of Ireland. They therefore marked out the Attorney-"General, Sir Henry Cavendish, and Mr. Monk Mason as the proper "objects of their fury. About twelve o'clock they marched in a "prodigious crowd to Mr. Scott's, the Attorney-General's house, "with an intention of destroying it, but some of the patriotic "leaders of this country contrived to get there, mixed among "the mob, and at last persuaded them to leave it, after destroy-"ing the windows on the ground floor, and doing some small "damage to the next story. They then marched to the Par-"liament House, and detached a body to the Four Courts, who "rushed in, in search of Mr. Scott, who kept out of their way, "and of Sir Henry Cavendish, whom they seemed particularly "anxious to find. On being disappointed, they returned to the "Parliament House, and swore all the members whom they could

"find going in to be true to Ireland and vote for a short money-"bill. The lawyers' corps were applied to by the Lord Mayor, "and told that they stood high with the people, and would pro-"bably be able to disperse them; they met and agreed to go "unarmed among them. Mr. Yelverton, who is one of the corps, "made a most excellent speech, which had great effect upon them, "and was wonderfully well timed; they then decoyed them away, "marched them through several of the streets, and prevailed on "them to disperse."—Comp. 'Parl. Hist.' xx. 1071-72.

The state of Plymouth:—"If the French had actually effected a "landing at either port (Plymouth or Portsmouth), they would "have encountered but few obstacles in their further progress. "There was a most disgraceful deficiency of arms and ammunition. "'There were,' said the Duke of Richmond in the House of Lords, "'Parl. Hist.' (he was speaking of Plymouth), 'guns and shot, but "neither the one nor the other answered; all pieces of what are "called small stores were totally wanting; there were neither "handspikes to work the guns or give them the necessary direction, "nor wadding, rammers, sponges, spring-bottoms; nor, in short, "any one part of the apparatus fit to meet an enemy.' Even "flints for muskets were wanting, and there were only thirty-five "invalided artillery-men, both old and infirm, to man the batteries "and to work two hundred guns."—'Life of Keppel,' vol. ii. p. 244.

Letter 604.

* Queen's House, Nov. 24th, 1779.
35 min. pt. 10 p.m.

Lord North,—It would have been most desirable that you had seen this morning the affair of Ld. Hillsborough in the same point of view as this night, for undoubtedly the having delayed his receiving the Seals has given room to many unfavourable surmises. I therefore leave it for Lord North's consideration whether after such an event it be best to give him the Seals to-morrow or to postpone it to Friday, when it will appear more regular. An order must now be given for a Council to-morrow, which is not usual on the day Parliament assembles. I should think Lord North had best

consult Lord Hillsborough himself and Lord Stormont as to the properest day for the appointment. I shall either do it to-morrow or any other day as shall on the whole be thought best. Lord North I hope now recollects that in his note he has said that the *die is cast*. Consequently no untoward conduct of the Attorney-General is to prevent his going on. This I must inculcate before I give the Seals. One event I have heard this day which ought to encourage the going on. This day in the City the report was current that the Ministry would be changed; the language of the merchants was strong at the folly of Ministry to retire, and the fullest marks that, though they might in some things have blamed the conduct of affairs, they thought much worse of the Opposition, and that consequently a change must be disadvantageous to the public.

Parliament assembled on the 25th of November. The debates turned principally upon the naval transactions of the preceding summer. In the Speech from the Throne the King said, "Trusting " in the Divine Providence and in the justice of his cause, he was " firmly resolved to prosecute the war with vigour." In the amendment to the Address Lord John Cavendish observed, "Providence " was indeed the great Ally to whom alone the kingdom owed its " preservation. An inferior fleet, a defenceless coast, an exhausted " treasury, presented an easy prey to the enemy, but Providence " interposed, and the danger blew over." For Admiral Keppel's speech in reply to Lord North see 'Life,' vol. ii. p. 265. Lord North's assertions respecting the protection given to our trade by the fleet under Sir Charles Hardy's command were false. "The " language of the noble Lord was not the language of a seaman, nor " of any person who had conversed with seamen. The reasonings " and assertions of the noble Lord in the Blue Ribbon were those of " a landsman, and that landsman, he did not scruple to say, was the " Earl of Sandwich." All betokened a stormy session, and the omens were fulfilled. "The aspect of the next session of Parliament," writes Gibbon, 'Memoirs,' p. 108, "was stormy and perilous; county " meetings, petitions, and committees of correspondence, announced

" the public discontent; and instead of voting with a triumphant " majority, the friends of Government were often exposed to a " struggle, and sometimes to a defeat."

LETTER 605.

* Queen's House, Nov. 30th, 1779.

LORD NORTH is too well apprized of my political sentiments as well as of my personal ones for him to doubt of the uneasiness his long epistle has given me, the subject of which I have so often combated that it would be useless to go through the arguments again; and as I never have been able to get Lord North to explain, when in this train of reasoning, whether I was to understand it as a determination in him to retire from his employment, I have fallen on the only safe method—the shewing his letter to Lord Dartmouth, and desiring him to get a full explanation, which will I trust enable Lord North to speak determinately to me to-morrow. I can state my sentiments in three words. I wish Lord North to continue; but if he is resolved to retire, he must understand the step, though thought necessary by him, is very unpleasant to me.

LETTER 606.

* Queen's House, Dec. 1st, 1779.
30 min. pt. 10 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—Since the receipt of your account of the sailors having been voted in the Committee of Supply this day without a division I have received the Irish letters, which shew that there is an end of all government in that country. The Lord-Lieutenant seems to feel himself that a successor is the most natural consequence.

"The Parliament of Ireland met on the 15th of October, and soon "showed that they had received a portion of the general spirit of "the nation. They declared in their Addresses to the Throne that "nothing less than unlimited and free trade could save that country "from ruin. The Addresses were carried up with great parade "amid the acclamations of the people. The Duke of Leinster, who "commanded the Dublin Volunteers, escorted the Speaker in person "on that occasion; whilst the streets were lined on both sides, from "the Parliament House to the Castle, by that corps, drawn up in "their arms and uniforms. That nobleman had also moved for the "thanks of the Lords to the volunteer corps throughout the king-"dom, which was carried with only one dissentient voice." 'Ann. Register,' xxiii. p. 57, foll.

There was great and not unreasonable distrust in Ireland of the English Cabinet; the Commons accordingly voted a short money-bill for six months only. They also carried by a majority of 170 to 47[a] a resolution that at this time it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes. The volunteers now amounted to 42,000 men. Lord North made three propositions before the Christmas recess for the relief of Ireland: (1) a free export of wool, woollens, and wool-flocks; (2) a free exportation of glass and all kinds of glass manufactures; (3) freedom of trade with the British plantations on certain conditions, the basis of which was to be an equality of taxes and customs upon an equal and unrestrained trade. Bills founded on the first two propositions received the royal assent before the recess. The third, being a more complex proposition, was ordered to lie over the approaching holidays.

Letter 607.

[a] Queen's House, Dec. 7th, 1779.
35 min. pt. 3 p.m.

By some mistake of a servant, though Ld. North's box enclosing the list of speakers in yesterday's debate was delivered at one in the morning, yet it was not brought into my room with the votes till after I went out this morning, and on coming home I have found it

[a] Commons' Journal (Irish), p. 34, 1779; Plowden, 'Hist. of Ireland,' vol. ii. pp. 185-192.

on my table. I am pleased with the majority,[a] though highly incensed at the personal conduct of Mr. Macdonald, whose disappointment at the East India House, added to the conduct of his father-in-law, is no excuse for his behaviour.

Mr. Macdonald would not give his assent to the motion, but branched off into a virulent attack on Lord North, for the heat of which he apologised on the 8th of December. 'Parl. Hist.,' xx. pp. 1228, 1241.

The 'Annual Register,' xxiii. p. 72, marks this debate as a very memorable one. "The debates were long, various, and interesting. "All the wit, ability, and eloquence of the Opposition were thrown "out without measure or reserve against the Ministers. On their "side they exerted themselves much more than they had done in the "House of Lords (debate on the Earl of Shelburne's motion of cen- "sure against Ministers for their conduct to Ireland, Dec. 1. 'Parl. "Hist.,' xx. pp. 1156–1184). The appearance of Mr. Fox after his "recovery from the wound which he had received in his late duel "(with Mr. Adam, November 29) afforded matter of much general "curiosity, and that incident seemed now to have produced a renova- "tion rather than any detraction of his former spirit."

Parliament adjourned for the holidays on the 20th of December.

From the King's letters to Lord North in 1780 we gain a very imperfect idea of the feelings which pervaded England at that time. They express displeasure at the conduct of the Duke of Richmond and other Lord-Lieutenants of counties, and betray uneasiness at the decline of majorities in Parliament. But of the great county meetings held during the Christmas recess in 1779–80 we have scarcely a word from the prolific pen that a few years earlier recorded nearly every meeting at Guildhall or Hicks's Hall. One element of strength was departing from the Court party. At the commencement of this reign the Crown had been strengthened by the union of the old Jacobites with the Tories. But the great landowners were now growing weary of the war, alarmed at the rapid increase of taxation, and, above all, indignant at the presence of an enemy's

[a] Debate in the Commons on the Earl of Upper Ossory's motion of censure against Ministers for their conduct towards Ireland, Dec. 6. Majority for Ministers, at half-past 12 o'clock, 92 (192—100).

fleet in the Channel. They discerned, tardily indeed, that their alliance with the Court party involved them, the representatives of noble and ancient families, in the disgrace of the Ministry. The "celsi Ramnes" of Britain resented their partnership with the Rigbys and Jenkinsons, who, while battening on the Pension List, and "soaking up the King's countenance, his rewards, his autho- "rities,"[a] mismanaged alike both home and foreign affairs.

On the 11th of December in the preceding year Burke had given notice of a motion on economical reform after the Christmas recess, and during that interval the response to the trumpet-tone of his speech — the herald of yet mightier eloquence on the 11th of February in this year—was made by the voice of county meetings.

The lead was taken by Yorkshire and Middlesex, the one representing the landed, the other the moneyed property of the kingdom. Other counties followed their example; and so general was the feeling of the nation, that to enumerate the petitioning counties would be nearly equivalent to giving a list of the counties of the kingdom. At the several meetings the conduct of Ministers and of their majorities in either House was severely censured, and in each county committees were appointed to correspond with one another, and to organise the agitation. Never had there been a more important crisis in this island since 1640 or 1688. There were indeed counter-petitions and "approbation meetings," but the roar of these was like the roar of Snug the Joiner in comparison with the loud and deep-toned chorus of Yorkshire, Middlesex, and the "far to east and far "to west" provinces of Britain.

For county meetings in 1779–80 see Cook's 'Hist. of Party,' vol. ii. pp. 251–258; Adolphus, vol. iii. pp. 93–5; Massey, ii. p. 337; Lord Mahon, vii. pp. 1–4; 'Annual Register,' 1780; 'Parl. Hist.,' xxi.; 'Mem. of Rockingham,' vol. ii. p. 391.

Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 360, observes very justly, after stating that some Tories and some wealthy clergymen had joined the meeting at York on the 30th of January, that "the *country gentlemen* "had been as much to blame, though now clamorous, as the Court. "They had remained pleased spectators, and connived at least, and "most of them promoted, all the violence against America, and all "that waste of blood and treasure, hoping for a revenue from Ame- "rica to lessen the land-tax. Thus selfish interest had kept them "silent till now, and now selfish interest dictated their com- "plaints." As pertinently Lord Camden had said a year before, "We have tried our strength; we find ourselves incapable of

[a] 'Hamlet,' act iv. sc. 2.

"conquest; and as we cannot subdue, we are determined to "destroy." (See Lord Campbell's account of the debate in the Lords, Dec. 7, 1788, 'Lives of the Chancellors,' vol. vii. p. 204, 4th ed.)

Correspondence with Lord Thurlow on a proposed Coalition.

LETTER 608.

Queen's House, Dec. 17th, 1779.
40 min. pt. 9 a.m.

I ENCLOSE a copy of the letter I wrote last Saturday to the Chancellor, which is the only paper subsequent to the note I gave Lord North on the beginning of this affair. I have made out this copy, that, as I desired Lord North to keep the first, he may also keep this.

Copy of Letter to the Lord Chancellor.

Queen's House, Dec. 11th, 1779.

MY LORD,—It is impossible to be more pleased than I was with the candour with which you stated to me yesterday the very little information you had been able to collect, and with which you at the same time confessed that, if any further steps were to be taken in this embryo of a negociation, it could alone arise from my condescending to depart in some degree from the plan I have hitherto laid down, and stating something more specific than my inclination to adopt a coalition of parties. I will owne ingenuously, that, from the conduct which has hitherto been held by those with whom you have conversed, I augur very little good from the farther prosecution of this business; and nothing but the earnest desire I have to unite my subjects in the present moment of danger, and to form a strong Government out of the most able and respectable of all parties, would induce me to make any farther attempt. Influenced however by this last motive, and in order to make the person[a] with whom

[a] Lord Shelburne, "who was fre- "quently tampered with by the Chan- "cellor, told him before Christmas, "that, if the King meant to take the "Opposition, he must do it then; for "if the Committee" (of the Associated Counties) "got head, it would be too "late." H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 372.

you last conversed (if possible) more open and explicit, I consent that you should acquaint him that Lord North's situation will not stand in the way of any arrangement, and that he does not desire to be a part of any new Administration that is to be formed. This declaration ought to convince that person that I really mean a coalition of parties, and not merely to draw him in to support the present Ministry. If he is satisfied with the opening (as I think he ought), he is through you to state his sentiments on the future conduct of public measures; and to what degree the demands of his friends may be restrained, always understanding that I do not mean the quitting the one set of men for another, but the healing, as far as depends on me, the unhappy divisions that distract my kingdom.

I wish that this business may be brought to its issue as soon as it conveniently can, for, if it does not succeed, it is high time that I should take such measures as may be necessary for the strengthening and supporting of the present Ministry.

LETTER 609.

Queen's House, Dec. 1779.

LORD NORTH,—I transmit to you a copy of the letter I wrote on Saturday evening to the Chancellor, he having carefully avoided ever writing to me whilst employed in sounding whether Opposition could be brought to accede to a sincere coalition of parties. I thought it highly necessary to authenticate the whole transaction by writing to him the whole thread of that business. You will find I have done it with some degree of care, which I thought the nature of the affair required. The last paragraph owes its origin to my desire of preparing against all possible events. I thought the Chancellor might perhaps hereafter say that, if he had been consulted, Administration might have been strengthened. The having called upon him to point out any such proposition will, I am confident, not bring forth any plan from him, but will effectually

* Day of month omitted.

prevent any declaration agreable to the above supposition. You will keep it, as it compleats the papers I had before given to you. I shall therefore not take up your time with much more. The letter to him contains very fully my political sentiments and resolutions. All therefore that I have to add is a desire that you will point out whether any arrangements can be made to give more activity to the carrying on of business. One matter must give you confidence, which is the fate of your Irish propositions both in Parliament and in Ireland. Yet you had but little assistance of the Cabinet. The decisive part you took prevented any persons pretending to mistake your intentions. Be but explicit, and the public business will not be so difficult as might at first be expected.

I do believe that America is nearer coming into temper to treat than perhaps at any other period, and, if we arrive in time at Gibraltar, Spain will not succeed in that attack, which will very probably allay the fury of the Spanish monarch, and make him more willing to end the war.

I cannot conclude without strongly pressing that every measure may be taken to get the friends of Government in Yorkshire to attend the meeting on the 30th at York. Not that I suppose they will be able to stop the violence of the meeting, but it will shew that the country is not unanimous in this business; and it may decide whether any contrary Resolutions should be taken. I hear all the Peers in opposition as well as the Commoners are to appear on this occasion. Ought not Lord Falconberg to be pressed to attend? The Duke of Northumberland is willing to write to his friends. I should think that very proper: one word from Lord North will make him very active.

Copy of letter to the Lord Chancellor.

Queen's House, Dec. 18th, 1779.

My Lord,—I have considered the Report you made to me on Thursday of the final result of your endeavours to sound the dispositions of the Opposition on the plan I had authorised you to propose of forming an Administration strong enough to carry on the public business smoothly in the present arduous state of affairs, consisting of the wise, the virtuous, and the respectable of all parties. You then told me you were convinced that any proposition of this sort made in my name would be declined, as the members of Opposition would not consent to join any of my present Ministers. A proposition like this so totally destroys the only ground on which I can bring myself to accept the services of men of that description, and is in my opinion so contrary to the public good, that I should not have said one word more on this subject, but from a desire of stating to you fully the grounds of my conduct, and of shewing you with what sincerity and zeal I have wished to bring about so desirable an event, though the sort of cold treatment I have met with through the whole course of this business would have disgusted any prince who did not act on public motives as I have done.

When I found you, my Lord, Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth, and Lord North thought it right to endeavour to form a coalition of parties, I yielded to such respectable opinions. With this view I put into your hands about a fortnight before the meeting of Parliament a paper containing the plan on which I thought it proper to authorize you to treat. To this you did not appear to me to have any objection, and the business at that time stopt from a delicacy of sentiment in you, not to commence a negociation till Lord North should have declared that he could not go on. No step was therefore taken, and you returned the paper to me two days before the meeting of Parliament. But Lord North having on the first of this month declared to me that he thought it advisable to make an attempt to form an Administration on a broader basis, and that, in order to promote so desirable a measure, he did not wish to retain his present office, or to make a part of any new Ministry that might be formed, I on the 3rd informed you of this, and authorized you again to proceed, giving you a fresh copy of my paper. A few days after you informed me that, having consulted Lord Camden, he declined the task of sounding the inclinations and opinions of his friends either as to the principles on which they were disposed to carry on public measures, or as to a coalition with any part of the

present Ministry. You then addressed yourself to Lord Shelburne, who would not open himself farther than that he thought that the more connection that could be preserved with America the better: but he did not say what the nature of that connection should be; and he added that he did not pretend to be a director of Opposition, and could not tell whether a coalition of parties would answer the ideas of Opposition, and that it would be gracious in me to declare what openings I would make, that they might judge whether their sentiments and mine could agree. Cold and distant as I had reason to think this mode of proceeding to be, I still judged it right to make every advance that was proper or that could be expected of me; and I gave the most authentic proof that it was possible for me to give that I meant a fair coalition, and not merely to draw them over to the support of the present Administration, by authorising you on the 11th to declare that Lord North's situation would not stand in the way of any new arrangement, of which he did not desire to make a part; and I then desired you to call on them to state fairly to me the principles on which they were disposed to carry on public measures, and what changes with respect to men they expected I should make for the purpose of effecting the desirable end of a coalition: to which on Thursday I was able to obtain no other answer but that a coalition seemed not to answer their views.

From the cold disdain with which I am thus treated, it is evident to me what treatment I am to expect from Opposition, if I was to call them now to my service. Nothing less will satisfy them than a total change of measures and men: to obtain their support I must deliver up my person, my principles, and my dominions into their hands: I must also abandon every old meritorious and faithful servant I have, to be treated as their resentment or their mercy may incline them. These would be hard terms indeed to a Sovereign in any situation. I trust to God that mine is not yet so bad as this. I will never make my inclinations alone, nor even my own opinions, the sole rule of my conduct in public measures; my first object shall be the good of my people. I will at all times consult my Ministers, and place in them as entire a confidence as the nature of this government can be supposed to require of me. You, my Lord, and all who have ever served me, can do me the justice to testify that I have not been deficient in this respect. But none of my Ministers can after this trial advise me to change my Government totally and to admit Opposition without any terms. My Parliament have already shown, since their meeting, that they are in opinion against such a desperate measure; and I am confident, from all I can learn, that it is not the wish of my people at large. They wish that I would strengthen my Government by bringing into it all that is

eminent and respectable; but they do not wish that I should turn out one set of men merely for the purpose of bringing in another.

Nothing therefore remains for me to do but to exert myself and to call upon all those who serve me to exert themselves in support of my legal authority, and to resist this formidable and desperate Opposition; and I shall do it with more confidence and spirit from a consciousness that I have done all which it becomes a sovereign to do to reclaim the factious, to form a coalition of the great and virtuous, and to unite all my subjects.

I have only to add, that if among your acquaintance and connections you can point out any one [by] whose talents and industry my Government can be strengthened in any of its departments, I shall be happy to receive your advice, and I wish to have it before I talk to Lord North, which I mean to do very soon, on this subject; and I have no doubt that, after all you have seen of my conduct, you will endeavour to convince your friends, and particularly those who have lately left my service, that nothing has been wanting on my part to bring about a proper coalition.

LETTER 610.

Queen's House, Jan. 6th, 1780.

FROM the same desire of keeping Lord North exactly informed of everything that has passed between me and the Chancellor in his late negociation with Opposition, I transmit an exact copy I have taken of a paper he sent me on the 26th of last month, dated the day before, which Lord North will find is calculated to take off the edge as much as he can of the letter I had wrote him, of which a copy is already in Lord North's hands. Though [dis?] inclined to a paper war, it was impossible for me to acquiesce to every circumstance as now stated. I have therefore prepared a note which I meant to put into the Chancellor's hands the first time I saw him, as a more amicable mode of conveying my sentiments than in the form of a letter. He is gone to Bath without mentioning that intention to me; I shall therefore keep

it until I next see him; but chuse to give a copy of it to Lord North at this time, as it concludes a transaction where my conscience fully approves of the uniformity and fairness of my conduct, but I owne the vexation I have met with in the course of it has given me much uneasiness.

I also transmit a letter which I received on Saturday from the Dowager Dutchess of Ancaster on the subject of the Barony of Willoughby of Eresby.[a] I am ready to gratify the family in this request whenever Lord North shall wish to have it put in execution.

The Lord Chancellor's answer to the King's letter, Dec. 18.

December 25th, 1779.

THE commands your Majesty honoured me with were sufficiently difficult and delicate. But the anxiety with which I set about to execute them is much enhanced by observing that I have had the misfortune to mislead your Majesty into a wrong impression of some considerable men. My duty to your Majesty and justice to them call upon me to attempt a more accurate representation of these passages than I have had the good fortune to convey.

Your Majesty's object undoubtedly was to form an Administration of the wise, the virtuous, and respectable of all parties. For which purpose your Majesty was pleased to express a disposition to admit into your service and confidence any men of public spirit and talents who would join with a part of your present Ministry in forming one upon a more enlarged plan; providing withal for every exertion to preserve the empire entire and to prosecute the war with vigour, and that your Majesty's past measures should be treated with proper respect. Such was the purport of the paper which your Majesty was pleased to put into my hands on the 17th of November.

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[a] In July of this year died Robert Bertie, Duke of *Ancaster*, &c., Lord Great Chamberlain of England. He dying unmarried, his Barony of *Willoughby of Eresby* descended to the heirs female, his two sisters, co-heiresses, and was accordingly in abeyance. The office of Lord Great Chamberlain descended to his Grace's eldest sister, Lady Elizabeth Burrell. 'Ann. Register,' xxii. p. 247; and Walpole to Sir H. Mann, July 7, 1779.

According to the possible extent of this proposition, all or most of the Cabinet might have been removed, except perhaps the negociator of the change; and I might have seemed to the Ministers removed, and perhaps to a great part of the world, to have undermined them in concert with their successors. Such a suspicion would certainly have been unjust, as I neither knew nor undertook to answer for the public or private views of Opposition, but proceeded merely on doubts whether there existed in the Ministry strength enough to carry on your business in the actual situation of things. This doubt I entertained in common with Lord Gower and Lord Weymouth, but, knowing nothing of Lord North's opinion, such a suspicion might also have proved an impediment to the progress of the business. I had the honour to be admitted twice to your Majesty's presence on this subject. On Thursday I found Lord North had informed your Majesty that he had mistaken my ideas of the strength of Administration, and, supposing that they turned chiefly upon the concurrence of members in Parliament, had undertaken to reconsider his prospect in that particular. I explained to your Majesty that the strength of a Ministry in my notion consisted, besides the credit and esteem of Parliament, in their influence upon other parts of the empire and other great bodies within the kingdom, their authority over the fleets and armies and other branches of executive government, together with many other obvious articles. However, not presuming to urge any opinion of mine, nor indeed wishing to do it without the privity of your Majesty's other servants, I humbly proposed it to your Majesty to call for all their opinions on this point, whether there really existed in Ministry strength enough to conduct the public business with dignity and effect; and this idea seemed to meet with your Majesty's approbation.

Thus the matter rested till the 22nd of November, when Lord North communicated to me his receipt of your Majesty's commands to inform Lord Bathurst and Lord Hillsborough of your Majesty's gracious purpose to appoint the first President of the Council, and the other Secretary of State. From this circumstance I inferred that your Majesty meant to proceed no farther on the idea contained in the paper of the 17th of November; and supposing that it would not be agreeable to leave that outstanding, I thought it my duty to deliver it up to your Majesty, which I did accordingly on the 23rd of November.

On the 3rd instant your Majesty was pleased to replace the same paper in my hands, adding that Lord North thought it advisable to make an attempt to form an Administration on a broader basis; and that, in order to promote so desirable a measure, he did not wish to retain his office, or to make a part of any new Ministry which might

be formed. I humbly suggested to your Majesty that the paper was somewhat indefinite, not specifying what part of the present Ministry was to be retained, or what number of others to be admitted; and that such questions would naturally occur to be asked, in answer to which only the Treasury could be offered, unless your Majesty would condescend to specify what other offices might be made the subjects of arrangement. As your Majesty did not think that course expedient, I further submitted whether it might not be proper to drop the idea of making a direct proposal on the part of your Majesty in that undefined shape, and to try whether in conversation with me they would be willing to disclose any ideas of coalition which might be fit for your Majesty to consider farther and shape into some distinct proposal. Your Majesty gave me leave to pursue that method, and I took such opportunities as I could find to converse with Lord Camden, Lord Shelburne, and others, but still as a private man who wished a coalition of parties, and disclaiming all authority to make proposals. They declined to enter into that sort of conversation about arrangements with me; but they never imagined they were returning an answer to your Majesty: so that, if any coldness or disdain were shewn, which I really did not feel, it was directed solely to me. It was indeed my conjecture that they would think a fuller proposal more gracious: nay, that they flattered themselves with the expectation of a larger opening than I could observe to be in your Majesty's contemplation, and even with that of being sent for. But they certainly did not presume to propose any of those things to your Majesty. Your Majesty's commands on the 10th instant did not, as I conceived them, extend beyond those of the 3rd: in both Lord North's situation was considered as disposable, and in both it was put upon them to explain the extent of their expectations; unless indeed it was your Majesty's meaning to send a direct proposal in your own name. Understanding that otherwise, I only took an opportunity, for my own satisfaction, to assure myself that I had treated Lord North's situation as not likely to stand in the way of a proper coalition; if on Thursday the 16th I expressed myself to a different effect from that mentioned before, I have been so unlucky as to mislead your Majesty.

Upon this occasion I think it was that your Majesty was pleased to inquire into the expediency of sending a proposal directly, and in your own name, offering Lord North's place, and expressing your Majesty's desire to make a coalition of the most respectable men of all parties, and calling for their ideas on the openings that would amount to such a coalition. Not being prepared for the sequel, I hesitated about the expediency of a measure from which I could form so little hope, and I farther submitted to your Majesty whether,

after my former conversations with them, I should be the properest bearer of such a message.

This, according to my memory of it, is the sum of what hath passed. From which it must appear that no proposal hath yet been made to any part of Opposition; nor consequently any answer received from them. They have a right to disavow my conjectures, and even to complain of their being hazarded at all. Therefore, if it be thought expedient to hold out to the public your Majesty's gracious disposition to admit into your service and confidence the most eminent of all parties, it seems necessary to cause some direct offer of that sort to be made to them.

LETTER 611.

* Queen's House, Feb. 10th, 1780.
37 min. pt. 5 p.m.

AFTER Lord North had left St. James's yesterday, Lord Pembroke came and resigned his Court employment, giving no other reason than that he could not support measures whilst one man, not in the House of Lords, remained in employment, and explained this to relate to Lord George Germain. I cannot chuse the Lieutenancy of Wiltshire should be in the hands of Opposition; I therefore think without loss of time Lord North should offer it to Lord Aylesbury, and that a civil communication should be made to the D. of Marlborough that regard to him had alone made me not remove his brother-in-law; but he having chose to resign, I could not think it right to have [leave?] the Lieutenancy in his hands.

Lord Stormont brought me a letter I did not expect from the D. of Chandos resigning the Lieutenancy of Hampshire, alledging that the favours of the country were put into other hands, which I am told means his not having got the government of the Isle of Wight. I have since heard that he is quite ruined, and means

to retire to Florence; if this is true, he will certainly not be prevailed on to keep the Lieutenancy, and Lord North must see what Peer can succeed him; the only one that has occurred to me is Lord Rivers. I do not mean by this to exclude one of more weight, if such should occur.

Lord Pembroke resigned his place in the King's Bedchamber on the 9th of February, and was removed from the Lieutenancy of Wiltshire on the 15th of that month, Lord Aylesbury succeeding him. The Duke of Richmond (see Letter 596) was left in possession of the Lord-Lieutenancy of Sussex: the King offered it to the Earl of Ashburnham, Lord Pelham, and Lord Montacute, who all declined it.

Sir Richard Worsley was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight* and a Privy Councillor in this month; and Lord Rivers became Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Southampton. The *ruin* of the Duke of Chandos, if not caused, was probably hastened, by his "concerning himself in the Southampton election." (See 'Parl. Hist.,' xx. p. 1315, Feb. 2.)

Letter 612.

** Queen's House, Feb. 22nd, 1780.
3 min. pt. 9 a.m.

Lord North cannot be surprised at my having read with some astonishment that the majority was so small this morning in a question which, if it tended to anything, was to circumscribe the power of the Crown to shew its benevolence to persons in narrow circumstances; it shews what little dependence can be placed on the momentary whims that strike popular assemblies.

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* This governorship had been vacated by the death of Hans Stanley, Cofferer of the Household, &c., at Althorpe. He held the appointment "unprecedently" for life.—H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' ii. p. 362. Compare also his letter of January 17, 1780, to the Countess of Ossory.

Had the Speaker been able to continue in the House last Tuesday, there was every reason to expect a very great majority; the number of days that have elapsed must naturally render a resumed debate less animated. I cannot conclude without reminding Lord North of a similar event that happened during the time Mr. Grenville was at the head of the Treasury Board,[a] the question on General Warrants: when he wrote me word of the division, marks of being dispirited were obvious; I instantly answered that, if he would but hide his feelings and speak with firmness the first occasion that offered, he would find his numbers return. He followed my advice, and the event exceeded my most sanguine expectations.

In the debate upon Sir George Savile's motion for a list of pensions, which Lord North proposed to restrain to those paid at the Exchequer, and by the paymaster of the pensions. The debate grew very warm, and Lord North was defended only by the Attorney-General and the Lord-Advocate. Colonel Barré was very personal against the Scots as Lord North's only supporters. The Lord-Advocate asked Barré "if it was not as honourable to be a King's "pensioner as Lord Shelburne's, as Barré notoriously was?" Wedderburn told him that he could do nothing but abuse the Scots. Barré replied it was *false*. The Speaker interposed. At one in the *morning* Lord North's amendments were carried by a majority of only two votes (188—186)—"equivalent to a defeat." See H. Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 368. The Speaker was taken ill on the 15th—"last Tuesday," when Sir G. Savile's motion was brought on, and the House adjourned until the 21st.

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[a] 1763-4, until July, 1765. The debate on General Warrants was in February, 1764. Ministers had a majority of only 10 on the 14th, and only 14 on the 17th, on Sir William Meredith's motion that such warrants were contrary to law.

Letter 613.

* Queen's House, Feb. 26th, 1780.
7 min. pt. m.

I return the papers Ld. North left with me yesterday on the strange state of Ireland; it paints things in a most unpleasant light, but in my conscience I believe a true one; it is impossible the Lord-Lieutenant can himself think of remaining; the language of Conolly is the most striking: the misfortune is, that I do not see any man but Ld. Townshend willing to go at this time.

On coming home yesterday I found the D. of Montague had been with the Queen to express Ld. Aylesbury's wishes for her vacant Gold Key; his character is so respectable, that if he chuses it no man perhaps could be found out so proper. Lord North will therefore be careful when he answers Lord Falconberg's note, though he expresses a willingness to lay his request before, to express [sic] that he is not certain whether prior applications, and of great weight, may not have been made already to both me and the Queen. Indeed Lord Falconberg's attendance on his regiment would prevent his fully doing his Court duty, which in that office requires a very close attendance.

"Feb. 17th. Accounts from Ireland that they were determined "to go further. Lord Carysfort had moved for a Mutiny Bill that "would take the army out of the King's hands, and they talked of "not giving supplies unless certain laws were repealed." Again,

"March 2nd. Very unfavourable accounts from Ireland. The "Parliament had adjourned to consult the country at the sessions. "Lord Buckinghamshire indolent, or paying court to Ireland." (H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. pp. 369–374.)

"It was Lord Buckinghamshire's fate," says Mr. Plowden ('Hist. of Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 196), "to be disapproved by the Ministers of "England as well as to have dissatisfied the people of Ireland.

"The Volunteers had intimidated the Ministry. They condemned "Lord Buckinghamshire for effects which it was not in his power "to prevent; and which, in fact, were to be immediately traced to "their own dilatory, irresolute, and pernicious counsels." Lord Buckinghamshire was not recalled until the end of this year: Lord Townshend had been Lord-Lieutenant from 1767 to 1772.

On the 27th of January the Marquis of Carmarthen had resigned his Gold Key of Chamberlain to the Queen. He had written to the Committee at York his approval of the county petition. According to Walpole "he had also been paying court to the Prince of Wales." 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 372.

LETTER 614.

* Queen's House, Feb. 29th, 1780.
3 min. pt. 8 p.m.

LORD NORTH'S note gives me great pleasure. The majority this day on the rejection of so new an idea as the self-vacating of seats in Parliament shews that noveltys are not agreable to the House, and consequently I hope will make the same propriety attend the many novel ideas now before it.

I think the idea of bequeathing the Lieut.-Gen. of Marines on Rodney very proper; and if Lord North will send me a line that he agrees with me in that opinion, I shall very readily give the directions for that purpose to Lord Sandwich. That Lord North may have the whole before him, I must add that V.-Adm. Barrington has asked that mark of distinction; but he is greatly junior to the other.

The news of Sir George Rodney's victory, on the 16th of January, over the Spanish Admiral Langara, off Cape St. Vincent, had arrived on the day previous to the date of this letter. Sir George had taken five Spanish ships and destroyed three, and relieved Gibraltar.

Letter 615.

* Queen's House, March 3rd, 1780.
10 min. pt. 9 a.m.

I am greatly pleased, after so many arts have been used to intimidate Members of Parliament, that the question for postponing the Committee on Mr. Burke's Bill has been carried by a majority of 45 [35].[a] I do not doubt but in the divisions on the different parts in the Committee that number will greatly encrease. I never think it right to judge by the events whether a measure is right; but when the event confirms an opinion priorly [sic] given, it may prove that it was right; as such, Lord North must see the propriety of having rather divided on the day for holding the Committee than against the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. Burke's Bill on Economical Reform was read a second time on the 2nd of March. Lord North proposed a Commission of Accounts, from which Members of either House should be excluded. Ministers wished to defer committing the Bill for three weeks: they were afraid, however, to risk a defeat. However, on Mr. Burke's moving for committing it for next day, they proposed to defer it for a week, and carried their amendment by a majority of 35 (230—195). A considerable portion of March, April, and May was occupied in debating the different clauses of this Bill. (Prior, 'Life of Burke,' pp. 184–187, 5th ed., Bohn.)

Letter 616.

* Queen's House, March 7th, 1780.
35 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I expected from the violence and illiberality of the Opposition that some means would have been found to

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[a] *Sic*—in the original.

have kept off the opening of the Budget: Lord North cannot therefore doubt of my pleasure at finding he had laid the matter yesterday before the Committee. I knew by Lord North's letter in the morning that the taxes cannot be stated till Friday. I trust a good attendance will be got this day, as a second division may be attempted if they do not see that it is expected.

I think it right to take this method of putting Lord North on his guard as to the reason why Lord Sandwich wants that the Lieut.-General of Marines should not be given to Sir G. Rodney; the apparent one is, least it should disoblige Sir Chas. Hardy; but the true one is, he wants, by giving that employment to Sir Charles, to vacat Greenwich Hospital for Palisser, which would occasion noise, and not be a friendly action towards that Admiral. Rodney cannot have Greenwich, as in all the debates last winter it was admitted that Greenwich ought not to be held by an Admiral in foreign parts. I therefore am much inclined Rodney should be Lieut.-Gen. of Marines. Something must be [decided?] in a day or two, as Walsingham ought to carry the appointment.

Lord North opened his Budget on the 6th. He declared, as taxes on brewing had proved deficient, he would propose very general though unpopular taxes. On the 15th he stated them to be an additional duty on malt, wine, spirits, brandy, and rum; on exported coals, salt, new stamps, and licences to tea-dealers.

Sir Charles died in the following May. In July Sir Hugh Palliser was appointed Master of his Majesty's Hospital at Greenwich. ('Ann. Register,' xxiii. p. 246.)

Letter 617.

** Queen's House, March 7th, 1780.
33 min. pt. m.

On coming home I have found Lord North's letter enclosing one from the Lord-Lieut. of Ireland, whose idea of sending over the Irish Speaker* seems of no kind of utility, for he cannot, I trust, persuade this country to give up Ireland being bound to obey British Acts of Parliament, and he will not relinquish his national prejudices.

As to Lord North's propositions for making good the services of this year, I have no doubt that they are those he finds the least objectionable, for his knowledge of finance is universally admitted; but I can never suppose this country so far lost to all ideas of self-importance as to be willing to grant America independence; if that could ever be universally adopted, I shall despair of this country being ever preserved from a state of inferiority, and consequently falling into a very low class among the European states. If we do not feel our own consequence, other nations will not treat us above what we esteem ourselves. I hope never to live to see that day, for, however I am treated, I must love this country.

Letter 618.

* Queen's House, March 9th, 1780.
58 min. pt. 8 a.m.

It was easy to conceive that, if the question could be put alone on the abolishing of the third Secretary of State, that the disinclination that has in general existed

* Mr. Pery.

against that arrangement, and no small prejudice against the present possessor, would make it very difficult to reject it; consequently the division does [not] surprize me, and I trust Lord North will have less trouble in rejecting the subsequent clauses.

Upon the clause abolishing the office of the third Secretary of State, the Government succeeded by a majority of only seven. ('Parl. Hist.' vol. xxi. p. 340.) The "present possessor" is Lord George Germaine.

Letter 619.

* Queen's House, March 14th, 1780.
5 min. pt. 8 a.m.

Lord North,—I am sorry men should so far lose their reason, and let the violence of the times or fears actuate them, as to forget the utility of the Board of Trade; but I trust on the subsequent questions of Mr. Burke's Bill the numbers will again preponderate on the side of Government, and consequently, though last night's vote was unpleasant, it will be of no real disservice; indeed your opinion on Sunday rather made me expect that, as has happened, Opposition would carry the question.

The Court lost its majority on Burke's Bill on the Board of Trade question, which at two o'clock in the morning was voted useless by 207 against 199. "Execution of the sentence, however, was con-
"trived by the Ministry to be delayed for the present, and a week
"afterwards the sentiments of the House upon the Bill altogether
"seemed unexpectedly changed by other clauses of great importance
"being rejected by great majorities." (Prior, ib. p. 187.)

"Many of the Tories left the Court on the question of the Board
"of Trade, which Eden, one of the Commissioners, defended, and
"was well ridiculed by Burke, who called them a nest of crows with

"one nightingale in it." (Horace Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 378.) See 'Ann. Register,' December, 1780, p. 249, for reappointment of Commissioners, Edward Gibbon again among them. In the debate on the 13th Gibbon was brought down to the House in a fit of the gout to vote, for which he was attacked by Charles Fox; but all the members of the Board, except Soame Jenyns, who retired, voted in their own cause. ('Corespond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 243.)

LETTER 620.

* Queen's House, March 18th, 1780.
40 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH'S account to me of what had passed concerning Milbourne Port had thoroughly convinced me that Mr. Luttrell's complaint could solely turn out to his own disadvantage; therefore I own I do not approve of the House having not come to the resolution that the charge against Lord North is ill founded and injurious, but let this be evaded by a previous question, and I think Mr. Luttrell ought to have felt the indignation of the House.

Mr. Temple Luttrell brought a charge against Lord North for buying the next election at Milbourne Port from Mr. Medlicott, the proprietor of the estate. Mr. Luttrell could bring no proofs home to Lord North, and was angry because he thought he had agreed with Medlicott for the next election himself. The 16th and 17th were wasted on this "dirty accusation."

LETTER 621.

* Queen's House, March 21st, 1780.
47 min. pt. 7 a.m.

I AM glad to find by Lord North's note that the Committee on Mr. Burke's *extraordinary* Bill has rejected some of the clauses with so good a majority; the only

thing I could have wished otherwise would have been a division at an earlier hour, that the attendance might have proved le/ fatiguing.

The Committee on that part of Burke's Bill which related to the Household. Ge l Conway objected to part of Burke's plan, particularly that part at was to take away the Board of Ordnance. At half-past one in the morning the clauses affecting the Household were thrown out by 211 to 158.

LETTER 622.

* Queen's House, April 7th, 1780.
50 min. pt. 7 a.m.

THE whole tenour of Lord North's conduct, from the hour he accepted the post he now fills, is a surety to me that he will not expect an immediate answer on so very material an event as the one he alludes to in his letter that I have just found on my table. I cannot help just adding that the resolution come to in the Committee last night, and already reported to the House, can by no means be looked on as personal to him; I wish I did not feel at whom they are *personally levelled.*

Debate on Mr. Dunning's motions, "That the influence of the "Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished;" and "That it was competent to the House, whenever they thought "proper, to examine into and correct abuses in the expenditure "of the Civil List revenues:" also on a third motion, made by Mr. Thomas Pitt, "That it was the duty of the House to provide "immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of "in the petitions" from the Associated Counties.

Majority on the 1st motion, against Ministers, 18 (233—215).

To the 2nd only a feeble resistance was offered: no division.

The 3rd also passed without division. Lord North was severely

handled in the debate. Mr. T. Pitt "instanced the present possession of office by the noble Lord in the blue ribbon as an indubitable proof of the enormous influence of the Crown," &c.

For an account of this important debate—a harbinger of the fall of the North Ministry and of the Crown's influence—see 'Parl. Hist.' xxi. pp. 340–374; 'Ann. Register,' xxiii. p. 164; H. Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 392; Adolphus, vol. iii. pp. 116–120; 'Mem. and Correspond. of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 247; Lord Mahon, vii. p. 13, who remarks as worthy of note that of all the *English* county members no more than nine appear in the lists of the minority,—with which compare H. Walpole's comment that "the Ministry, like the Jesuits, seemed to have lost their understandings when they had most occasion for them, and Lord North, supported only by his two *Scotch* champions, Wedderburn and the Lord Advocate [Dundas], was not able to combat such numerous and violent attacks;" Massey, vol. ii. p. 342.

Letter 623.

Queen's House, April 11th, 1780.
15 min. pt. 8 a.m.

It is clear that, had the five members arrived in time last night, the strange resolution of the Committee would have been rejected; consequently Lord North must see things begin to wear a better aspect. A little time will I am certain open the eyes of several who have been led on farther than they intended, and numbers will return; for it cannot be the wish of the majority to overturn the Constitution. Factious leaders and ruined men wish it; but the bulk of the nation cannot see it in that light. I therefore shall undoubtedly be assisted in preserving this excellent Constitution by a temperate, but at the same time firm conduct. It is attachment to my country that alone actuates my purposes, and Lord North shall see that at least there is one person willing to preserve unspoiled the most beautiful combination that ever was framed.

The strange resolution. "Mr. Dunning on the 10th of April, after "moving 'That there be laid before this House, within seven days "after the first day of every session, exact accounts of every sum "and sums of money paid in the course of the preceding year out "of the produce of the Civil List or any other branch of the public "revenue, by way of pension, salary, or on any other account "whatsoever, to or in trust for any member of either House "of Parliament,' &c., and after his motion had been carried without "division, next proposed a Resolution 'That the Treasurer of the "Chamber, Treasurer, Cofferer, Comptroller, and Master of the House-"hold, the Clerks of the Green Cloth and their deputies, should be "rendered incapable of sitting in the House of Commons.' This "motion encountered considerable opposition, and, on a division "of the Committee, the majority in favour of the Opposition was "reduced to two (215—213)." ('Parl. Hist.,' xxi. pp. 374–386; Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 120; 'Ann. Register,' xxiii. p. 173.) His Majesty was correct in his expectations of "things beginning "to wear a better aspect," for on the 13th Opposition received a check on the second reading of Mr. Crewe's Bill, which was thrown out, upon division about 10 at night, by a majority of 29 (224—195). "Experience soon taught them" [Opposition] "that "they could only hold a majority on certain questions, and in "certain seasons." ('Ann. Register,' ib.) The Crown at this time kept its servants and Thanes also too well *feed* to allow "the course "of true" Opposition "to run smooth" at present. See 'Macbeth,' act. iii. sc. 4; and compare Lord North's Letter, p. 423.

LETTER 624.

* Queen's House, April 14th, 1780.
8 min. pt. 8 a.m.

THE division last night for rejecting Mr. Crewe's Bill[a] shews an inclination in the House of Commons of again viewing matters with some discression [sic]. I hope this will prove a just remark by the same propriety of conduct in the other Bills now before that House. The account of the day before came in another box at the same time as that of last night.

[a] For disqualifying officers of revenue from voting at elections, second reading; majority against the Bill, 31 (226—195).

LETTER 625.

* Queen's House, April 15th, 1780.
10 min. pt. 7 p.m.

I HAVE not the smallest doubt that the Speaker has pleaded illness to enable the Opposition to pursue their amusement at Newmarket the next week; the adjourning for so long a time can alone be intended to delay the business; I hope it will not succeed, as I flatter myself the friends of the Constitution will think it their interest as well as duty to stay and attend, and the others will not be able to keep its enemies in town in such large numbers.

"On the 13th of April Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the House "of Commons, was so ill that he declared from the Chair he could "not go on. The House immediately adjourned from that day "(Friday) to the Monday se'nnight.

"It was suspected that there was some treachery in this, as Dun- "ning opened the matter by asking the Speaker if he was not ill. "His late behaviour, and the frequent treacheries he had been "guilty of, made it very probable; yet it is doubtful whether his "indisposition was most timely to the Court or the Opposition. "The Court wanted time and delay, and the rejection of the Con- "tractors Bill (April 13th) would have raised an immediate flame, "which ten days might at least abate. On the other hand, the next "was a *Newmarket week*, whither several of the young patriots would "have gone, not being under authority like the Court-pensioners; "and others of them wanted to be present on the Committees of "their Counties, which were then to meet." (Horace Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 397.)

LETTER 626.

* Queen's House, April 23rd, 1780.
34 min. pt. 5 p.m.

LORD NORTH'S information concerning the Speaker must be the most exact: at St. James's I heard this

day that his son had told Lord Onslow that the Speaker had at last resolved, on the united recommendation of his family and physician, to resign, and consequently not to attend the House, but write a letter for that purpose to Mr. Hatsel.[a] Nothing can bring the present crisis to a more immediate issue than the question to be proposed to-morrow by Mr. Dunning; but I trust the members will see that the carrying it would dissolve the Government, and consequently that it will be rejected.

Lord North's language to Mr. De Grey yesterday was most proper; I authorize him therefore to accept of the Chief-Justice's resignation, if it is simple and without conditions; but if it is to be accompanied with an expectation of an immediate Peerage, it cannot be received.

The Speaker returned to the House on the 24th, and said that he would continue to do his duty as long as he could, though against the advice of his physicians. "Dunning then made his intended "motion to address against dissolution or prorogation of Parliament "till the grievances in the Petitions were redressed. The motion "was rejected towards midnight by 254 to 203; most of the Tories "who had deserted to the Opposition returning to vote with the "Court, particularly Sir Roger Newdigate, who had owned he hated "the Opposition, but preferred knaves to fools. Charles Fox abused "them (the Tories) after division, and said the House had broken "its promises to the petitioners, and it would be better to secede; "but his friend Dunning would try one question more. Dunning "moved to adjourn the Committee for a week, that he might con-"sider coolly what he should do, but was not sure he should try "anything further then." (H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 397.)

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[a] John Hatsell, clerk of the House of Commons. The author of the 'Pursuits of Literature' writes thus of him (Dialogue ii., p. 90, 5th ed.): "1796. "This accomplished gentleman has "lately resigned his office, with that "propriety and discernment of time "and circumstance, and of the *ætatis* "*insidiæ* which have uniformly distin-"guished his very useful and honour-"able life in publick office, '*Quando* "*ullum inveniet parem.*' He has given "a most judicious work to the public ["'Precedents of Proceedings in the "H. of C.'], which all senators will do "well to consult frequently."

LETTER 627.

Queen's House, April 25th, 1780.
52 min. pt. 7 a.m.

THE considerable majority last night gives me the hope that the House of Commons now individually feel the lengths to which Opposition are driving, and that it is culpable for men at an hour like this to stand neuter, but that every one is called upon by their inclination as well as duty to resist what no one can deny is a plan of changing the constitution; at least these sentiments are so much upmost in my breast, that I naturally suppose they must reside also in those of others.

For the "majority last night," see note to the preceding letter.

LETTER 628.

Queen's House, April 29th, 1780.
4 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I AM much pleased at being again enabled to express my satisfaction at the majorities [for] the rejection of the two questions relative to retrenchments in my household. I hope Lord North's foot has not suffered from the attendance.

Burke's Bill—Clause for abolishing the Wardrobe rejected by 48 (210—162); and Clause for abolishing the Board of Works by 15 (203—188).

LETTER 629.

Queen's House, May 2nd, 1780.
3 min. pt. 9 a.m.

I AM sorry to find no farther progress was made in the Bill for Commissioners of Accounts than the nomination of Sir Guy Carleton; at the same time it is easy to conceive that the chief debate must arise on the appointment of the First Commissioner, as the question whether they should be Members or not of Parliament most naturally occurred in that stage of the business.

"The House of Commons sat till past three in the morning on "Lord North's Commissioners of Accounts, when he gave up one "of them, and carried Sir Guy Carleton by 195 to 172." (H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 400.)

LETTER 630.

* Queen's House, May 6th, 1780.
25 min. pt. 7 a.m.

THE fate of no question* this Session more sincerely interested me than that of yesterday, and as such Ld. North will easily believe how much I am pleased at the majority. It is founded on fatal experience that every invitation to reconciliation only strengthens the demagogues in America in their arts to convince the deluded people that a little farther resistance must make the mother-country yield; whilst at this hour every account of the distresses of that country shews that they must sue for peace this summer if no great disaster befalls us.

I understand the Sardinian Minister has had letters from a correspondent at Paris whose intelligence he

* Debate on General Conway's motion for a Bill for pacifying America. "Eden "moved for the previous question, which was carried by 42 (123—81)."—Walpole, ib. ii. p. 400.

says has always proved true, that letters are arrived with the news of the surrender of Charleston[a] the 19th of May, occasioned by a bombardment which had destroyed part of the town; that this comes from Passy. Should this be so, the Congress will soon be set aside by the distresses of that deluded people.

Letter 631.

Queen's House, May 9th, 1780.
36 min. pt. 2 p.m.

I am much distressed at receiving a letter from Lord North enclosing the copy of one I am to receive from the Duke of Cumberland through the hands of the Duke of Northumberland. The whole political sentiments and conduct of the Duke of Cumberland are so averse to what I think right, that any intercourse between us could only be of a cold and distant kind, and consequently very unpleasant. I shall therefore, if such a letter comes, return no kind of answer.

H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. pp. 411–417, gives a full account of the Duke's conduct at this time.

Letter 632.

Queen's House, May 9th, 1780.
23 min. pt. 7 a.m.

Lord North will easily believe that I am well pleased at the fate of the two motions[b] that took up the time of

[a] Charleston surrendered on the 12th of May.

[b] 1. For inquiry into the order given on the 6th of April to the Guards to be in readiness, the Court having expected Fox to come to the House accompanied by a mob from Westminster! —lost by 133 to 91.

2. Sawbridge's motion for Triennial Parliaments—lost by 182 to 91.

the House of Commons yesterday, though not at the delay it has occasioned by postponing all the various matters that were to have come before the House.

LETTER 633.

** Queen's House, May 19th, 1780.
15 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH cannot doubt that I received with pleasure his account of Mr. Burke's Bill having been defeated in the several clauses that were before the Committee yesterday.

But he cannot be surprised at the real sorrow occasioned by seeing he persists in the idea that his health will not long permit him to remain in his present situation. If I had the powers of oratory of Demosthenes, or the pen of an Addison, I could not say more on the subject than what I can convey in the following few lines: that I am conscious, if Lord North will resolve with spirit to continue in his present employment, that with the assistance of a new Parliament I shall be able to keep the present constitution of this country in its pristine lustre; that there is no means of letting Lord North retire from taking the lead in the House of Commons that will not probably end in evil; therefore till I see things change to a more favourable appearance I shall not think myself at liberty to consent to Lord North's request. He must be the judge whether he can therefore honorably desert me, when infalable [sic] mischief must ensue.

18th May.—The Committee on the remaining clauses of Mr. Burke's Bill rejected four of them upon division; the clause for limiting the secret service money without division; and agreed to

that for enacting that the places of lieutenant, ensign, and all other inferior offices belonging to the body of Yeomen of the Guards, and also of the band of Gentlemen Pensioners, should not be sold, but filled by officers of the army and navy on half pay and after fifteen years' service. (See 'Ann. Register,' xxiii. p. 188.)

Mr. Burke then declared that he would not divide the House upon any of the remaining clauses, but desired that they might be read over and negatived as expeditiously as possible, in order that the Committee might be dissolved, and his Bill no longer remain either an eyesore to his adversaries, or an object for demanding the tiresome and fruitless attendance of his friends. The Committee, however, was still kept open at the wish of Lord North, who had taken a fancy to one solitary clause relative to the Exchequer; he carried his wish on division.

LETTER 634.

* Kew, June 3rd, 1780. 28 min. pt. 7 a.m.

AFTER Lord North left me yesterday, I heard from Lord Hillsborough that there was great difficulty in going to Parliament; I told him you were gone there, and that the Lords ought also to attempt, since which I heard nothing, till within this half-hour, of the outrage at Count Haslang's and Mr. de Cordon's chappels.* Parliament cannot help enquiring into this riot. I have not heard whether the House of Lords also adjourned without proceeding to business.

The Gordon riots began on the 2nd of June, and were not put down until the 9th. The state of the capital produced a partial recess of Parliament. It did not meet again until the 19th for regular business. Gibbon, writing to Mrs. Gibbon on the 10th of June, says, "I should write with great pleasure to say that this "audacious tumult is perfectly quelled; that Lord George Gordon "is sent to the Tower; and that, instead of safety or danger, we

* The Bavarian and Sardinian ministers: "gutted, plundered, and the furniture "and seats burnt."

" are now at leisure to think of justice; but I am now alarmed on " your account, as we have just got a report that a similar disorder " has broken out at Bath;" and on the 27th he writes, "The mea- " sures of Government have been seasonable and vigorous; and " even Opposition has been forced to confess that the military " power was applied and regulated with the utmost propriety. " Our danger is at an end, but our disgrace will be lasting, and " the month of June, 1780, will ever be marked by a dark and " diabolical fanaticism[a] which I had supposed to be extinct, but " which actually subsists in Great Britain perhaps beyond any other " country in Europe. Our parliamentary work draws to a con- " clusion."

LETTER 635.

[*] Queen's House, June 5th, 1780.
44 min. pt. 11 a.m.

I THINK it right to acquaint Lord North that I have taken every step that could occurr to me to prevent any tumult to-morrow, and have seen that proper executive orders have been sent by the two Secretaries of State. I trust Parliament will take such measures as the necessities of the time require. This tumult must be got the better of, or it will encourage designing men to use it as a precedent for assembling the people on other occasions; if possible, we must get to the bottom of it,[b] and examples must be made. If anything occurrs to Lord North wherein I can give any farther assistance, I shall be ready to forward it, for my attachment is to the laws and security of my country, and to the protection of the lives and properties of all my subjects.

[a] " —— pudet hæc opprobria nobis
" Et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli."
Ovid, 'Metamorph.' i. v. 738.

[b] There appears to have been a rumour that France was "at the bottom " of it." Cowper, writing to Unwin on the 18th of June, says, "But is it true " that this detestable plot was an egg " laid in France and hatched in London " under the influence of French cor- " ruption?" Colonel Scott, an American prisoner, told Lord Lincoln that the Americans were sick of the war, and had only been buoyed up by Spanish gold, and by *French promises* that London would be burnt. But when the rioters were tried, nothing came out of any *plot* or plan having been formed.

Letter 636.

* Queen's House, June 6th, 1780.
25 min. pt. 9 p.m.

Lord North cannot be much surprised at my not thinking the House of Commons have this day advanced so far in the present business as the exigency of the times require[s]; the allowing Lord Geo. Gordon, the avowed head of the tumult, to be at large certainly encourages the continuation of it; to which is to be added the great supineness of the civil magistrates; and I fear without more vigour that this will not subside; indeed, unless exemplary punishment is procured, it will remain a lasting disgrace, and will be a precedent for future commotions.

The Lord Mayor, Brackly Kennett, was a man wholly wanting in energy and firmness. He was prosecuted by the Attorney-General for a gross neglect of duty and was convicted, but his death prevented the passing sentence. Deserved odium fell upon Aldermen Sawbridge and Bull for their conduct during the riots; while Wilkes greatly advanced his credit by the firmness with which he withstood the fury of the mob and the ignorant prejudices of his Protestant brother-magistrates. The houses of the only three active magistrates, Sir John Fielding, Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Cox, were gutted by the rioters. The other justices of the peace had all run away; and when at length a magistrate was caught and compelled to mumble over the Riot Act, it was too late to save Lord Mansfield's house from being reduced to a bare and blackened shell. See Lord Mahon, vii. pp. 17–39, for a full and graphic description of this disgraceful episode in the history of 1780. The King's firmness, decision, and promptitude were most conspicuous.

Letter 637.

Queen's House, June 8th, 1780.
20 min. pt. 5 p.m.

I DESIRE Lord North will come here this evening at any time convenient to him; he will, in consequence of the resignation of Lord Chief Justice de Grey, acquaint Mr. Wedderburne that he is to-morrow to kiss hands on being appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

In September Chief Justice de Grey became Baron Walsingham of Walsingham in Norfolk. The new Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas was created Lord Loughborough, Baron of Loughborough, in the county of Leicester; and in July James Wallace, Esq., became Attorney-General, and, in his room, James Mansfield, Esq., Solicitor-General.

Letter 638.

* Queen's House, June 21st, 1780.
34 min. pt. 7 a.m.

I AM greatly pleased at the manner in which the business seems to have been conducted yesterday in the House of Commons, particularly at the having withdrawn the fourth resolution and admitted in lieu of it a Bill for preventing the educating Protestants at Popish schools, as this mode seems more effectual, and in reality the only grievance that seemed to have the smallest foundation. I hope Lord North has not suffered from the heat that must have attended sitting so long, at this time of the year, in the House of Commons. I trust this Bill will be got through the House with all the expedition that the forms and rules of proceeding will admit.

In the Commons, on the 20th of June, the great Protestant Petition was discussed; when the House agreed to five *Resolutions*, which Burke had in part prepared, and Lord North corrected.[a] It is pleasing to find these two distinguished men, differing on almost every other subject, agreed on the great principle of religious toleration.

The Bill was Sir George Savile's, and it did not do him much credit. It went to deprive the Roman Catholics of the right of keeping schools or receiving youth to board in their houses. He also moved in the Committee another clause to prevent any Roman Catholics from taking Protestant children as apprentices. This clause was carried, to Burke's great indignation. He declared that he would attend no further the progress of the measure. Sir George's Bill passed in the Commons, but was lost in the Lords. (Lord Mahon, vii. pp. 38, 39; 'Ann. Register,' xxiii. pp. 196, 197.)

Letter 639.

* Queen's House, June 27th, 1780.
13 min. pt. 9 a.m.

I APPLAUD much Lord North's having got rid of so much business in the House of Commons yesterday; it was certainly right to go through the three debates, or the Session would be spun out to still a more enormous length. Was not the line taken by General Conway rather unexpected? it certainly seemed so to Opposition.

Debate in the Commons on the Bill for Securing the Protestant Religion, June 26th. The Bill passed the Commons on the 28th; the Lords on July 3rd. General Conway "thought examination of "witnesses unnecessary, because, if their evidence should prove "all that was contended for, it would only show the propriety of "further restraints on Papists educating Protestant children, and "justify the present Bill." I cannot discover any token of "three "debates" on this evening. (See 'Parl. Hist.,' xxi. p. 715 foll.) For the "anarchy of opinion" at this moment, see H. Walpole's letter of June 29th to Rev. W. Mason.

[a] See Lord North's private letter to Burke in the Correspondence of the latter, vol. ii. p. 361.

"The disgraceful riots in June 1780, by the general panic they "diffused, gave strength to the Government, and Lord North seems "to have availed himself of the occasion to make fresh overtures "to Lord Rockingham through Mr. Frederick Montagu. Two "accounts of this negotiation have been preserved—the one among "Lord North's papers, the other in a letter from Col. Fitzpatrick "to his brother Lord Ossory."

A memorandum among Lord North's papers, entitled 'Minutes of Conversation with Mr. Montagu,' seems to contain the hints or instructions given to that gentleman before he commenced his negotiation.

Remarks by Mr. John Allen upon 'Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox,' vol. i. p. 251. Mr. Fitzpatrick's letter is printed at p. 254. Compare H. Walpole's account of this "negotiation," 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 422 foll.

Minutes of Conversation to be held with Mr. M.[a]

[In Lord North's handwriting.]

Draft 1.

It may perhaps be right, before any arrangement is concluded, for his Majesty to see some of Mr. M.'s friends, but his Majesty must know pretty exactly the sentiments of Mr. M.'s friends before any such conference.

No difficulty will be made to admitting the D. of Portland, the D. of Manchester, Mr. Townshend, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox; but if any arrangement should take place, Lord North would advise that Mr. Fox should at first be proposed for an office that would not introduce him into the closet immediately.

In respect to the D. of Richmond, Lord North but lately heard that the K. imagines that the D. of Richmond has indirectly sent to him a message purporting that he will not show any respect to his Majesty by paying his duty at St. James's, in which he is confirmed by the D.'s absence for seven years except an annual visit professedly to pay his duty to the Queen. This, with many other circumstances of the D.'s conduct, which his Majy. considers as meant personally to affront him, raises no small difficulty with respect to his Grace. Lord N. conceives that this prejudice must be removed by the Duke's conduct in some manner or other before he can be proposed for any considerable office under the Crown.

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[a] These two drafts of 'Minutes,' &c., are endorsed, "1780, 3rd July: The "King to Lord North, and other papers "and letters relative to a negotiation "for a coalition by the intervention of "Mr. Frederic Montagu." The letters, &c., are not in the Royal Library at Windsor.

Draft 2.

In the present situation of affairs,

Do Mr. M.'s friends insist that it is necessary or expedient (rather) to relinquish the attempt of recovering the dependence of the American Colonies rather than to continue the war [for another campaign?]?

Is the nomination of Mr. Keppell [sic] to the place of First Lord of the Admiralty in the room of Lord Sandwich an essential condition of the accession of Mr. M.'s friends to Government?

Are the passing of Mr. Crewe's and the Contractors Bills, and a part of Mr. Burke's Bill, essential conditions?

If so, what part of Mr. Burke's Bill?

No. 1. Is it required that Lord Rockingham, or any person now in Opposition, should be placed at the head.

Is Lord North to remain at the head of the Treasury?

I put these questions in order to bring this business more to a point than it is at present. It may perhaps be right, before this arrangement is likely to be concluded, to [have] a conference[a] between his Majesty and some of Mr. M.'s friends, but his Majy. must know pretty exactly what are the sentiments of Mr. M.'s friends before he consents to such a conference.

Lord N. apprehends there will be no objection to the Ds. of Portland and Manchester, Mr. Townshend, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox,[b] but he finds[c] that the King conceives that he has received a message from the D. of Richmond, either directly or indirectly, informing him that he will not pay his duty at Court to his Majesty, and that he makes his anniversary visit to the Queen: Ld. N. conceives that this prejudice will be difficult to remove, unless by some conduct of the D. of Richmond which may wipe off what the King has conceived to have been meant as a personal affront.

Lord North believes that the King will not consent to remove Ld. Sandwich, and to put the fleet into the hands of Mr. Keppell.[d]

But if any arrangement should take place, Lord N. would advise that Mr. Fox should at first be proposed for an office that would not introduce him to the closet immediately.

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[a] Altered in pencil from—"it is impossible to finish this arrangement without a conference."

[b] Corrected, "His Majesty will with pleasure see . . . . coming into his Majesty's service" (pencil).

[c] "In respect to the Duke of Richmond, Ld. North has lately heard" (pencil).

[d] This paragraph is crossed out.

The following paper is apparently a memorandum or draft of part of a letter of the same time, but it is not dated:—

Letter 640.

His Majesty, ever desirous of promoting the welfare and happiness of his dominions, thinks it behoves every one actuated by any attachment to his country to cast aside all private pique and animosity and cordially unite in the service of the State.

He therefore is willing to blot from his remembrance any events that may have displeased him, and to admit into his confidence and service any men of public spirit or talents who will join with part of his present Ministry in forming one on a more enlarged plan, provided it be understood that every means are to [be] employed to keep the empire entire, to prosecute the present just and unprovoked war in all its branches with the utmost vigour, and that his Majesty's past measures be treated with proper respect.

For an excellent commentary on these negotiations for a coalition, see Lord Mahon, vii. p. 73.

It concludes:—"With these terms, as reported by Lord North "to the King, his Majesty was far from contented. 'The evasive "reply' (of the Rockingham Whigs) 'about America,' he said, 'will "by no means answer.' He raised objections to several of the "persons named for office, especially the Duke of Richmond, and he "would not consent to any of the Bills desired." (Mr. Crewe's Bill, the Contractors Bill, and Mr. Burke's.) "In consequence, "Lord North found it necessary to let fall the whole negotiation. "The King, at a later period, had full leisure to regret his own "pertinacity, when he found himself compelled, under far more "mortifying circumstances, and without any admixture of less "unwelcome servants, to accept exactly the same men, and exactly "the same measures."

Letter 641.

* Windsor Castle, July 30th, 1780.

The letter from M. de Maurepas is certainly very extraordinary; and were I not too well acquainted with the duplicity of his conduct, I should suppose his life almost depended on the success of his proposal; but at least it makes me think that when he wrote the letter he had some very weighty reason to wish for peace, which makes me a little more hopeful that Spain is resolved to end the war, and that M. de Maurepas must also do the same, or, by drawing on a negociation at Paris, put clogs in the way of bringing matters in Spain to a desirable conclusion. One circumstance at least is agreable, that America cannot make part of any proposition Forth might be entrusted to communicate. On the whole, I desire Lord North will see Ld. Stormont before any answer is given to Mr. Forth (whom Ld. North knows I always think a very dubious negotiator); and if that able negotiator does not see, from his perfect knowledge of Maurepas, that we can be drawn into any difficulties by Forth's journey, I shall not object to it, but should certainly to Forth's having any instructions but to hear what the minister has to say.

I am much grieved for Ld. Hillsborough, who certainly should also have been made acquainted with this, if it were not kinder in his present distress to leave him in quiet; if it goes on, he will of course hereafter be acquainted with the whole.

I hope Ld. North has wrote to the Chancellor if he has any wish for promoting any one to the office of Chief Justice of Chester, or that he will not delay it longer, for the Chancellor is to be with me on Wednesday to fix the matter; if Lord North presses him civilly for Ambler,

I should think he would acquiesce, though he thinks Mr. Kemon [sic] would be the most respectable appointment.

Lady Hillsborough was just dead. John Moreton, Esq., Chief Justice of Chester and Attorney-General to the Queen, died also in this month. "Mr. Kemon" is Lloyd Kenyon—Master of the Rolls, March 30, 1784, and afterwards Lord Kenyon, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, June 9, 1788.

LETTER 642.

Windsor Castle, August 30th, 1780.

LORD NORTH has very properly sent to me Lord Sandwich's letter concerning V.-Ad. Barrington's strange proceeding of declining to go out with the fleet, as his senior officer is obliged, from health, to stay this cruize on shore.

Lord North will therefore acquaint Mr. Stephens that V.-Ad. Barrington may have leave to come on shore; that V.-Ad. Darby must command, and that notice must be sent to him of this to Plymouth. Lord North is the best judge whether V.-Ad. Darby can immediately come to Spithead.

The Chancellor is always so cautious, that it certainly rather retards business; but I trust Mr. Robinson's activity will arrange matters so for him that no delay can now arise.

H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 426 (September), says, "Admiral Geary resigned the command of the fleet. It was said he "was disgusted at not having had frigates enough to watch the Brest "fleet, and that the Admiralty had not answered his demands of "many articles. The command was offered to *Admiral Barrington:*

" he said he would take it if with full powers—that is, he would not " be dependent on Lord Sandwich—or he would serve under any " other admiral; neither being granted, he struck his flag and re- " tired." The Hon. *Samuel Barrington* and *George Darby*, Esq., became in September Vice-Admirals of the White. 'Ann. Register,' xxiii. p. 247. See also Walpole's letter to the Earl of Strafford, Sept. 9,— " great dissatisfactions in the fleet." Comp. Admiral Barrington's letter to Admiral Keppel, 'Life of Keppel,' vol. ii. p. 346. Lord Camden, 'Life of Thurlow,' ascribes " indolence " to the Chancellor, more than " caution."

LETTER 643.

* Windsor Castle, Sept. 18th, 1780.
37 min. pt. 5 p.m.

THE letters from Mr. Walpole[a] and Wentworth are curious, but cannot require any other remark from me than that, whilst America is only to be treated with through the medium of France, or the strange *unauthorised* propositions of the Commissioners are to be the basis of any arrangement with the rebellious colonies, I cannot give my sanction to any negotiation; besides, Mr. Walpole's political conduct cannot make me think him a safe conveyance or an impartial one.

Ld. Buckingham's proposal for peerages, as well as the idea of filling up any vacant offices in Ireland, ought to lay [sic] quiet till it is known how Government is to erect its standard in Ireland.

As to the propositions transmitted by Ld. Carlisle as his own, but which bear the strongest marks of being the offspring of *Eden's* pen, I can only say that I neither object to the first or the second; but certainly no con-

[a] " My cousin Thomas Walpole, who " lives at Carshalton." H. Walpole (Letter 1834), ed. 1858, and ib. 1962, when Thomas Walpole was attached to the British Embassy at Paris.

sideration can make me call him to the English Privy Council till he has the claim which an office to which that honour is ever an attendant falls to his share; besides, the Privy Council is too numerous, and will lose its dignity if prostituted on every occasion. One might suppose he had already imbibed the blunders of the kingdom where he means to play the Minister, by the fourth proposition, for he wishes to remain at the Board of Trade, yet by the second means to be looked on as if a member of a superior one; if he means to acquire the advantage of the second, he must give up that of the fourth.

A great number of Irish peers were created or promoted in December following. See 'Ann. Register,' xxiii. p. 248.

Lord Carlisle was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, *vice* "Lord Buckingham," in October, and went to Dublin on the 6th of December. *Mr. Eden* was his Secretary, and appointed a Privy Councillor. Lord Grantham succeeded Lord Carlisle at the Board of Trade. For an account of Mr. Eden, see H. Walpole's letter to the Countess of Ossory, August 16, 1780.

LETTER 644.

* Windsor Castle, Sept. 23rd, 1780.
30 min. pt. 2 p.m.

LORD NORTH'S letter on Wednesday certainly stated his journey for the West as immediate; and Sir Grey Cooper, on the Terrace on Tuesday, had told me Ld. North meant to go on this day to Somersetshire. That was the cause of my not writing Ld. North word that the Queen's situation prevented my coming to town. She is, thank God, as well as the boy,[a] as well as can be

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[a] "The boy," Prince Alfred; born Sept. 22; died August 26, 1782.

expected. I find Ld. Stormont very anxious for Ld. Cathcart. I have very civilly but clearly on paper shewn him that I think the choise [sic] would not be acceptable by reason of the youth and small property of his brother-in-law. I wish Ld. North had earlier mentioned Ld. Glencairn to me, and had told me what his pretensions as to abilities, private character, or fortune really are. I now have only the one view—his having long applied. If the other candidates have not better pretension in those points, I cannot but decide for Ld. Glencairn; but Ld. Stormont stated him as only supported by being useful to the Ld. Advocate in elections, which I could not deny was no plea for being elected.

Letter 645.

* Windsor Castle, Sept. 25th, 1780. 30 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Lord North's thinking Mr. Adam[a] ought to have the place of Treasurer of the Ordnance, as his wishes of being placed in the Board of Trade has [sic] not been effected, is reason enough for me to sign the appointment; but if Ld. North had as strongly as I expected spoke to Mr. Eden, it would yet be time to satisfy the reasonable request of Mr. Adam. It is impossible for me to follow Mr. Eden through the mazes and turnings he is ever treading. I wrote my sentiments clearly, and cannot depart from them.

Ld. Dartmouth deserves every kind of attention, and I cannot see why Ld. Lewisham should not at once

[a] "William Adam, Esq., appointed 'Treasurer and Paymaster of His Majesty's Ordnance."—'Ann. Register,' xxiii. p. 246.

have the Comptroller's Staff. Ld. North cannot seriously think that a private gentleman like Mr. Penton is to stand in the way of the eldest son of an earl; undoubtedly, if that idea holds good, it is diametrically opposite to what I have known all my life. Besides, Ld. Lewisham stands for a county; his vacating frequently his seat is not therefore eligible, consequently here seems to be a very natural opportunity of pleasing Ld. Dartmouth.

Ld. North should certainly answer all the appliers for peerages that no more can be made;[a] but I am sorry to add the warrants are not come yet for those nominated.

LETTER 646.

** Windsor Castle, Sept. 26th, 1780.
48 min. pt. 7 a.m.

THE messenger having received orders when I had read the letters to carry this box to Bushy Park, I chuse to accompany it with a few lines for Ld. North's information of the state of my mind on the receipt of Sir H. Clinton's dispatches, which are certainly of a very gloomy cast; but in this world it is not right alone to view evils, but to consider whether they can be avoided, and what means are the most efficacious. Undoubtedly this island has made greater exertions to keep its station among the considerable Powers of Europe than perhaps could have been expected. The number of troops sent

[a] "Seven new Barons are made: Earl "Talbot; Sir William de Grey; Lord "Gage; General Fitzroy (Lord Southampton); James Brudenel (Lord "Brudenel); Mr. Herbert (Lord Porchester); and Sir William Bagot "(Lord Bagot)."—H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, Sept. 19; 'Annual Register,' xxiii. p. 247.

to America has been prodigious, and the colonies hav given no assistance; but is that new this year? has i not been the case for the greater part of the struggle The giving up the game would be total ruin; a smal state may certainly subsist, but a great one mouldering cannot get into an inferior situation, but must be ani hilated [sic]. What is to be drawn from hence is, tha we must strengthen the West India squadron. W must recruit Clinton's army, not for conquest, but t keep what he has. The French never could stand th cold of Germany; that of America must be more fata to them. America is distressed to the greatest degree The finances of France as well as Spain are in no goo situation. This war, like the last, will prove one o credit. Foreigners see very clearly that the resource of this country are greater than they would have ex pected; that raises their opinion, and must make them not fear for that material branch; in short, by perse verance we may bring things to a peace; by giving up the game we are destroying ourselves to preven being destroyed; in short, we must put every place i the best state of defence on the continent of America contract the war to that sole end, and on float do al the mischief we can to our enemies.

I suppose Ld. North will order the box to be sent after reading the dispatches, to Stoneland, and desire Ld. George Germain to be to-morrow in town.

On the 25th General Dalrymple had arrived from Sir H. Clinto with an account of the capture of the greatest part of the fleet going to Quebec with supplies, of the great distress at New York, and th superiority of the Americans. The despatch is printed in Lor Mahon's 'Hist. of England,' vii., Appendix, p. iv.

LETTER 647.

Windsor Castle, Sept. 30th, 1780.

AGREABLE to Ld. North's desire I have sent the letters from America to the Treasury, but chuse just to write to him a few lines to express my approbation of the minute of Cabinet, and that I have in consequence ordered the 3rd, 19th, and 30th regiments from Ireland to the Leward Islands; the 1st bat. of the Royals, 13th, and 69th to Charles Town. Orders are given for the transports to be prepared, and the officers of the 4th, 5th, and 49th regiments to be put on the Irish establishment, in lieu of the three regiments taken from thence. The regulations Ld. North has settled with the Comptroller will, I trust, be of effect; but I must have a good deal of conversation with Ld. Sandwich, that the frigates may be more employed both to protect our convoys and annoy those of the enemy.

LETTER 648.

Windsor Castle, Oct. 25th, 1780.
19 min. pt. 9 a.m.

THE letter from Mr. Montagu shews the same temper of mind that had made me respect his character, and convinces me that nothing but want of health prevents his stepping forth on the present occasion; Mr. Cornwall is a very respectable person for that office of Speaker, and ought to be assured of the support of Government on this occasion, and called on to attend at the first meeting, and to take all the pains he can to shew his willingness to accept of that honourable situation.

That Lord North should feel a little languid on the approach of the meeting of Parliament is not surprising;

it is far from being a pleasant sensation even to me; but I know his resolution always rises when the times call for it, therefore have not the smallest doubt but he will shew the zeal for which he has been conspicuous from the hour of the Duke of Grafton's desertion.

LETTER 649.

* Queen's House, Oct. 31st, 1780.
59 min. pt. 1 p.m.

UNDOUBTEDLY there appeared some difficulty in getting quit of Mr. Walpole's offer without an absolute refusal of all propositions of a pacific nature; but Ld. North has so cautiously and ably drawn his answer to that gentleman that he has certainly overcome it; I owne, if Mr. Walpole was not an avowed enemy to the present administration, I should not think him the possessor of those qualities which are essential in a prudent and able negociator. I shall only add one reflection, that, whilst the House of Bourbon make American independency an article of their propositions, no event can ever make me be a sharer in such a negociation.

LETTER 650.

St. James's, Oct. 31st, 1780.
8 min. pt. 7 p.m.

I AM much pleased at Ld. North's account of Mr. Cornwall having been elected Speaker this day by so considerable a majority; I thoroughly approve Ld. North's prudence in not coming out, and have acquainted the Queen with the cause of his not appearing this evening.

The new Parliament reassembled on this day. There had been an intention to dissolve the old one in August, but the bad news from the West Indies, it was feared, might operate at the elections disadvantageously for Ministers. In September the dissolution came somewhat suddenly upon the nation, owing, it was said, to Lord Loughborough's advice. He found the Court losing ground daily, and recommended a trial of the country.

The elections, upon the whole, justified his Lordship's advice. The middle classes, moved by their chronic dread of Popery and their aversion to Ireland, threw out several of the most popular members. Burke, in consequence of the support he had given to the Irish Trade Acts, to the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and other measures of an advanced and liberal nature, was ousted from the representation of Bristol, and found shelter in the borough of Malton. Sawbridge lost his seat for the City, for having voted for tolerating Popery; and Keppel lost Windsor,[a] but was invited and chosen by Surrey by a majority of 700. On the other hand, Admiral Rodney and Mr. Fox were returned for Westminster, and Lord Lincoln was defeated; Onslow retired from the contest in Surrey; and Lord Ongley was thrown out of Bedfordshire. There were one hundred and thirteen new members.[b]

The Government, however, was the gainer; and although Lord North, as it appears from the King's letter (648), "felt a little "languid on the approach" of the Session, his master and his colleagues were renewed in spirit by some good news from America. An express had arrived, Oct. 9th, from Lord Cornwallis in Carolina, to say that with only 2000 men he had attacked and totally defeated General Gates at the head of 7000, and that, without loss to the Royalists, the Americans had 900 men killed and 1500 taken prisoners. Here was some compensation for the gloomy despatch of Sir Henry Clinton (Letter 646), and the yet worse account of the capture by the Spaniards of the East and West India fleets

[a] "Admiral Keppel is thrown out at "Windsor; but though all the royal "bakers, and brewers, and butchers "voted against him, you must not "imagine it was by mandate; for his "Majesty himself told the Admiral "that he hoped he would carry his "election. How saucy in his own "servants to thwart his wishes!"—H. Walpole's letter to the Countess of Ossory, Sept. 12, 1780. Comp. 'Life of Keppel,' vol. ii. p. 285.

[b] "In the premature dissolution "which followed this session of Par-"liament (1780) I lost my seat. Mr. "Eliot was now deeply engaged in "the measures of Opposition, and the "electors of Liskeard are commonly of "the same opinion as Mr. Eliot."—Memoirs of 'Life and Writings,' p. 158, 4to. ed. For Gibbon's vindication of his parliamentary conduct to the owner of this obsequious borough, see his letter from the 'Eliot Papers,' printed by Lord Mahon, vol. vii. p. xi-xiii., Appendix. Gibbon, through Lord North's influence, was elected for Lymington, Hampshire. A very lively account of the election of 1780 (Sept.–Oct.) will be found in the same work, ib. pp. 74-78.

in August. Yet it might, perhaps, have been better if Lord Cornwallis had been less effective, since his success only encouraged the King's pertinacity, and afforded a pretext for the Court party to go on with the American war—"serius ocyus sors exitura."

A curious squabble took place about the Speakership. Sir Fletcher Norton had given unpardonable offence by his freedom of speech in the matter of the Civil List to his Majesty and the Court. Lord George Germaine, accordingly, after lamenting the precarious state of Sir Fletcher's health, proposed, and he was seconded by Mr. Ellis, that Mr. Cornwall, "a gentleman eminently endowed "with all the qualifications necessary," should be chosen Speaker. Sir Fletcher rose, and complained that Lord North had not even intimated to him that he was to be set aside. Charles Fox vehemently attacked Lord George, and said that his hollow compliments to the late Speaker were like stabs in the dark, but such language assorted well with Lord George's notorious cowardice. Sir Fletcher and his friends assured the House that he was never better in his life, and that Lord George's pretence was a mere mockery of his hearers. Dunning then moved, and Thomas Townshend seconded the motion, that Sir Fletcher be continued Speaker. The ministerial nominee, however, was appointed by a large majority, 203—134.

And next day, "all went merry" (for Ministers) "as a marriage-"bell." The Session was opened by the King. In his Speech from the Throne he complained of the unprovoked conduct of France and Spain, but congratulated himself and his people on the recent success of their arms in Georgia and Carolina. Amendments to the Address were moved in both Houses: that in the Lords was rejected by 45 (68—23); that in the Commons by 82 (212—130). The estimates were—for the navy 90,000 men, including the marines; for the army, besides the invalids at home, and besides also the Brunswickers and Hessians, 35,000 men: the whole supplies granted for the year 1781 exceeded the sum of 25,000,000*l*. "Sic fortis Etruria crevit." Taxes were added, *e. g.* on paper, almanacs, &c., and the national debt continued to grow. These signal defeats in the first Session dispirited Opposition again, at least until the Christmas recess, and again Opposition was a house divided against itself. The Duke of Richmond was waiting for what then, to all seeming, was the Greek Calends—"until the nation recovered its senses;" Lords Camden and Shelburne would have no more to do with the Rockinghams!

LETTER 651.

* Windsor Castle, Nov. 5th, 1780.
10 min. pt. 9 p.m.

IT is with infinite pleasure I receive Ld. North's account that he is quite recovered, and trust that by not coming out before Wednesday his strength will be regained; he will have the proper answer prepared for the Address on that day.

Ld. Percy's letters are very suitable to that peevish temper for which he has ever been accused; he begs the question. As to the 5th being sent to Ireland, no one proposed it; but from the necessity of sending three compleat regiments from hence to the W. Indies, and three from Ireland to N. America, consequently the three regiments without men, the 4th, 5th, and 49th, were ordered to Ireland as the quickest mode of recruiting them. I shall consider whether it is feesible to grant any distinction as to the colours of the 5th regiment before I make any answer to that idea.

"The first debate in the Commons was to be next Monday, but "probably will not; for last night Lord North was very ill of a "fever. They can no more go on without their Treasurer than "without their pensions."—Nov. 3. H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann.

LETTER 652.

* Queen's House, Nov. 28th, 1780.
40 min. pt. 9 a.m.

NOTHING could more strongly shew the venom of Opposition than the making a long altercation yesterday on the proposed thanks to Sir Henry Clinton and Ld. Cornwallis when they did not intend to divide. I return a number of empty boxes, as I suppose Ld. North may be in want of them.

Letter 653.

Queen's House, Dec. 5th, 1780.
46 min. pt. 7 a.m.

On coming late from the play last night, I found on my table Ld. North's box containing the business that had been transacted that day in the House of Commons, by which I see but little was said on the business of the day, but much illiberal altercation with Sir Hugh Palliser, and Ld. Howe and Adm. Keppel, as usual, trying to shew their own significancy, which they certainly have not oratory to convince the House of, particularly when their conducts this war cannot justify the assertions.

Letter 654.

* Windsor Castle, Dec. 10th, 1780.

From the moment I received from Lord North the accounts, as far as they could be ascertained, of the establishments of my late father, as well as those when I was placed under the care of governors, and afterwards the one that took place when I attained the age of eighteen, I have been examining them; and finding the last establishment not so exact as my remembrance dictated it might be stated, I ordered Mr. Mathias to prepare a copy of that establishment and an abstract of the accounts of my late treasurer during that period, of which I enclose copies for Ld. North; I then considered that in addition to my eldest son's establishment I must furnish the incidental expenses to my second son's travelling and education, and the taking the three*

* (1) Ernest Augustus (Duke of Cumberland; (2) Augustus Frederick (Duke of Sussex); (3) Adolphus Frederick (Duke of Cambridge), at this time, respectively, in their 10th, 9th, and 8th years.

eldest boys now in the nursery and placing them with men: this I felt would require much deliberation, the result of which I will now fully state.

My late father when he came to England was near twenty-two, consequently of age, yet his number of attendants was not very numerous. Even this cannot be looked upon as an exact rule for me to follow, for my son is only eighteen; and though by law he would be of age, if it should please the Almighty to put a period to my life before he attains the age of twenty-one, that event not happening, he can only be in a middle state between childhood and manhood; besides, it is ever better that persons should feel that their situations will by degrees improve, and particularly young persons; it is by launching them all at once in the world, and not being properly guided, that the youth of this country turn out so little to their own credit or the advantage of the state.

I have, therefore, in this view formed an honorable establishment, and given my son for Robes and Privy Purse the exact sum I had. His stables will be more expensive in point of saddle-horses, I keeping at that time but four, he will have sixteen; but by appointing a Groom of the Stole instead of a Master of the Horse, a set of horses and two footmen are diminished, which alone attended that officer in the first establishment of my late father. As my son will live in my house, he cannot have any occasion for those servants, necessary only if he kept house. I have also wished to keep his number of attendants as moderate at first as possible, yet it is similar, as much as the different natures will admit of, to the first establishment of my late father. The difficulty I find of having persons whose private conduct I think may with safety be placed about a young

person is not surprising, as, I thank Heaven, my morals and course of life have but little resembled those too prevalent in the present age; and certainly, of all objects in this life, the one I have most at heart is to form my children that they may be useful examples and worthy of immitation [sic]. I shall therefore be scrupulous as to the private lives of those I place about my son, though in other cases I never wish to be informed, unless of those great enormities that must make every man of principle shun the company of such persons; but in the case of my children, my happiness, as well as the good of the public, is materially concerned in this investigation.

Lord North seemed to insinuate that, if the whole additional expence of my children did not exceed 30,000*l.*, he thought the money could be found. I have tried to keep it to 20,000*l.*, because, from the very numerous familly [sic] I have, it is impossible to lodge[a] them, and I must make some alterations for that purpose in the wings of the Queen's House. St. James's is so full that I cannot place any more of them there; besides, I find the placing them in different habitations a great additional expence, as it ever occasions a great increase of household servants. For the present I must from necessity send the three boys I mean to take out of the nursery to Kew.

I hope on Wednesday to state to Ld. North the persons I mean to place about my eldest son, and as a friend, not a Minister, to hear his opinion before I let any of the parties know my intentions except Ld.

[a] Horace Walpole seems to have had earlier intelligence of these arrangements than Lord North, since he writes to Rev. W. Mason, November 1, "I "know no news but that the Prince of "Wales is to have a bit of an establishment; yet his court is still to be "kept in the nursery. However, there "will be a little more room; for the "Right Reverend Father in God, "Prince Frederick, is to be weaned "and sent abroad."

Southampton, who I intend for Groom of the Stole, Lieut.-Col. Hotham as Treasurer, Mr. Lyte as Master of the Robes and Privy Purse, and Lieut.-Col. Lake as First Equerry and Commissioner of the Stables.

When the establishment takes place I shall appoint the D. of Montagu Master of the Horse in the room of the D. of Northumberland; his behaviour whilst he has had the care of my children entitles him to my warmest regard.

LETTER 655.

** Windsor Castle, Dec. 18th, 1780.
22 min. pt. 10 p.m.

WITHIN these few minutes I have received Lord North's letter accompanying the secret [letter ?][a] he has received from Mr. Necker. It shews France is certainly in greater difficulties than we imagined, or she would [not] by such various channels seem to court peace. No one has more inclination or interest in wishing so desirable an event as myself, provided it can be obtained on honourable and solid terms; with France it is easily to be settled, if she would desist from encouraging rebellion, and not add to her insults by wanting to effect independency, which, whether under its apparent name or a truce, is the same in reallity [sic]. Till she gives up that view, I do not see how peace can be a safe measure.

I do not doubt but the embarrassments with Holland must to a degree effect [sic] the new loan; but as it is not our fault, Lord North must do for the best, and not

[a] "The secret letter" is printed in Lord Mahon's 'Hist. of England,' vii., Appendix, p. xiii.

repine at the evil that arises from the conduct of faithless allies, not from either the wish or heat of our councils.

Letter 656.

Queen's House, Dec. 21st, 1780.
8 min. pt. M.

As in a few days I shall appoint Lord Southampton as Groom of the Stole to my son, the Queen consents that I should consult Lord North whether there may not be some man of rank in the House of Commons who might suit the office of her Vice-Chamberlain; it will certainly require a good deal of attendance, but on the other hand it does not vacate a seat in Parliament as any employment under me does. Ld. Canteloupe, Col. Brudenel, and Lieut. G. Fitzroy were all married men; and considering that in the absence of the Chamberlain the Maids of Honour are under his direction, it should seem that it would be more proper that the new one should be in the same situation.

Mr. Harris is thought to be dying; Lord North will also consider of a proper person that I may recommend to the Queen.

Mr. Harris, Secretary and Comptroller to the Queen, father to Sir James Harris, then Minister-Plenipotentiary, &c., at the Court of St. Petersburg, died in this month in the 72nd year of his age, in the Close, Salisbury. His works — 'Three Treatises on Art, Music, Painting, Poetry, and Happiness' (1745), 'Hermes' (1751), 'Philosophical Arrangements' (1775)—were once much in vogue, and the latest of them, as a lucid commentary on the Categories or Predicaments of Aristotle, deserves to remain so.—See Gibbon, 'Decline and Fall,' ch. lii. note 59.

LETTER 657.

Windsor Castle, Dec. 27th, 1780.

I NOW transmit to Lord North an exact list of the persons I have on mature and anxious deliberation thought fit to place about my eldest son. I had the satisfaction yesterday to find him thoroughly satisfied on my giving him the list of the arrangements, as he felt that his good and no other motive had decided my choise. I have in one instance departed from the line I originally had laid down to myself, by appointing one young man as his Groom of the Bedchamber, that is the second son of Lord Dartmouth; but the great and known piety of the father, and his having said he could answer for the sageness of his son, made me think it wiser to fix on him than to be looking out for one older who might not in every particular answer so well.

Lord North will have the warrant made out for the establishment: as in my case, the gentlemen will have no warrants, and I believe their names should not be put into it, as it would vacate their seats in Parliament. Lieut.-Col. Hotham[a] is also to receive the money for paying the establishments of my sons William and Edward, which accounts will be stated by him to the Treasury in the same manner they were by the Duke of Montagu; he will also receive and pay the new establishment of the three lesser boys, who I shall now in a few days take out of the hands of the women, as also the 5000*l.* I allow for the travelling expenses of my son Frederick.

I have wrote to the D. of Northumberland this morning to acquaint him, as I had promised him the last time I saw him, that I will consent to his resigning,

[a] Treasurer and Secretary to the Prince of Wales.

and on Friday that the Duke of Montagu will accept of his office, which is the day the D. of Montagu will bring the P. of Wales's new gentlemen to be presented, that they may be able to attend my son on New Year's Day; the Queen will also that day appoint Lord Aylesbury her Chamberlain. I hope when Lord North comes to St. James's to-morrow he will be able to suggest some proper person to me to be recommended to the Queen as her Vice-Chamberlain, as also one for Secretary, it being now certain that Mr. Harris is dead.

It will be necessary that Lieut.-Col. Hotham should have some money in hand to satisfy the travelling expences of my son Frederick to Hanover, who goes on Saturday; as also for the purchase of the additional coach and saddle-horses of the P. of Wales, and issuing him some Privy Purse money. I should therefore propose Lord North should order a sum of 2000*l.* to be issued to Lieut.-Col. Hotham for the immediate wants. The D. of Montagu will make up his accounts to the 5th of January, and the new establishments ought to bear date from that period.

Since writing the above I have spoke to the Queen, who concurrs with me in desiring no other persons may be thought of for her Secretary but Mr. North, if the appointment can be agreable to Lord Guildford and you, whom we always wish to shew marks of regard; it is an office that requires no great confinement.

Horace Walpole ('Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 437) gives the following account of the arrangements for the Prince of Wales:—

"Dec. 28. The Prince of Wales has a sort of establishment appointed. Lord Southampton was made his Groom of the Stole; Lord Courtown, Lord Parker, and Lord J. Clinton, his Lords; and three Grooms. His brother-Prince was to, and did, go to Osnaburgh. The brothers were separated because they were great

" friends, and that Prince Frederick had most spirit, and, as the " Queen dropped, put his brother on acting with spirit; but it did " not go far."* Comp. 'Ann. Register,' xxiv. p. 206.

The Duke of Montagu was in this month gazetted as his Majesty's Master of the Horse, and the Earl of Aylesbury as Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household.

LETTER 658.

* Queen's House, Dec. 28th, 1780.

UNDOUBTEDLY Lord North is very exact in stating that the person wished to be found for the office of Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen should be of a noble family, of genteel manners, good character, a married man, and not very young. I really believe the four gentlemen, whose names are stated, are as good as can be found at present; the second and third I quite agree in opinion, from the attendance, would decline it. Mr. De Grey would certainly not resign the Board of Trade for it; besides, his manner is certainly not quite genteel, and from his hurry he might fill the office but awkwardly. Major-Gen. St. John would certainly not chuse, for the addition of one hundred pounds, to change his present employment for one that requires so much more attendance; besides, his being on the Staff would prevent his being able to attend so much as the office requires. I therefore think one requisite must be omitted, that of a noble family; but one of a good gentleman's family, if the other particulars coincide, must be pitched upon; I therefore desire to hear of some of that description.

I shall be inclined, if Mr. Brummel behaves discreetly till Frederick gets a regiment, to recollect that Ld.

* The real cause of Prince Frederick's going abroad was that he might be instructed in the Prussian tactics, which were at that time regarded as the best lessons for a young soldier. For the parting of the royal brothers on December 30th, see 'Ann. Register,' xxiv. p. 161.

North interests himself for him, but at present I do not see such a regiment vacant as I shall think proper for my son to be placed at the head of.[a]

1781.

"Methinks the nation is fond of a magnificent funeral, and "chooses to call in all countries to its burial, or at least to provoke "them to despatch it. *Et tu, Brute!* Even Holland is to give us a "stab. The elements too have joined the armed neutrality. What a "catastrophe that of Barbadoes! yet we are all gaiety, nay, delighted "with the Dutch war. We lose provinces and islands, and are com- "forted by barrels of pickled herrings! Then, madam, what a brave "string of Irish peers! they put me in mind of the chain of galley- "slaves in 'Don Quixote.' Like them, I dare swear, their new "Lordships would one and all assure one—they are honest men!"

In these words Horace Walpole[b] opens his epistolary chronicle for 1781. His mocking is grim, but not the less true. England, at war with her colonies, with France and Spain, added, at the close of 1780, Holland to the list of her open enemies. At the same time an alliance of the Northern Powers of Europe was formed against her, and "the three corners of the world" *had* "come in arms," without her having the power at the moment to *shock* them.[c] Such were the results of firmness in the King, and of feebleness in his advisers, during a decennium of misgovernment!

War had been proclaimed against Holland on the 20th of the preceding December, and on the 25th of January in this year a Royal Message was delivered to the Lords and Commons on the subject of this addition to the troubles, and necessarily to the taxes, of the nation. There is a good summary of the origin and progress of the dispute between Great Britain and Holland in Adolphus's 'Hist. of England,' Geo. III. vol. iii. p. 221 foll.

The immediate cause of the war was the capture of an American

[a] "His Royal Highness Prince Frede- "rick Bishop of Osnaburg" was made "colonel in the army, by brevet, bear- "ing date the 1st of November, 1780." —Ann. Register, xxiii. p. 247.

[b] Letter to the Countess of Ossory, Jan. 2.

[c] Shakspeare, 'King John,' conclusion.

packet-ship by a British cruiser off the coast of Newfoundland. "Among the passengers in this ship was Mr. Laurens, late President "of Congress, on a mission to conclude a treaty with the Govern- "ment of the States-General. The papers taken from the charge of "Mr. Laurens contained not only his credentials, but disclosed also "the fact of a secret treaty of friendship and commerce having been "executed between the representatives of Congress and the Pen- "sionary of Amsterdam, on behalf of the States-General, two years "before. The English Ambassador at the Hague was instructed to "demand a disavowal of this treaty. No answer being returned, "a declaration of war was promulgated in London at the close of "December." Massey, 'Hist. of England,' vol. ii. p. 382.

The conduct of the Dutch to Britain revealed the influence of France with the States-General at this moment. "Holland at this "period," writes Lord Mahon, vii. p. 81, "was divided by two "great parties—the party of the Stadtholder, the Prince of Orange, "and the party inclining to France, of which the Pensionary, Van "Berkel, was among the principal members. It was this party "which had for some time past gained the upper hand; it was this "which had been so industrious to inflame the disputes with "England; it was this which was now upon the point of adding the "Republic to the alliance of the Armed Neutrality."

The strength of England, at a juncture scarcely less formidable to her than the League of Cambray was to the Republic of Venice in 1509, lay not in her means or preparations for war or in the wisdom of her rulers. She escaped because her European enemies were, with the exception of the French people, not thoroughly in earnest, and because also such leagues are rarely so formidable to the party threatened by them as they appear to be on the surface. Spain, the haughtiest monarchy in Christendom, secretly disapproved of the rebellion of the American colonists. Catherine of Russia was more piqued than seriously angry with Britain. She designated to Sir James Harris, the British Envoy at St. Petersburg, the Armed Neutrality as an armed nullity, and Prussia and the Emperor of Germany were not more in earnest than "sister Kitty." Of the belligerents Holland was perhaps the most incensed at the moment, and did not decline from her ancient reputation on the seas. Even with France we might probably have come to terms in spite of the warlike disposition of its people. For though the voice of the nation was for war, the French Ministry, alive to the exhausted condition of their finances, were anxious for peace. They did not cordially support their own armaments, and the French and Spanish admirals were far from being on good terms with one another.

M. Necker, then the leading Minister of France, secretly proposed

to Lord North[a] an arrangement, of which the basis was a truce. During that cessation of arms the belligerents in America were each to remain in possession of the territories which they already held. But George III. declared such terms inadmissible—shrewdly, but not wisely, saying, that "independency of the colonies, whether "under its apparent name or a truce, is the same in reality." He and his "Achivi," the Court and Country party, were alike afflicted by the delusion that America might be reconciled to England without "INDEPENDENCY."

I append the following remarks by contemporaries as an introduction to the King's Letters in 1781:—

"It is not a little remarkable," writes Burke, "that the riots in "1780, which tended to the direct subversion of all order and govern- "ment, should have been the means of affording strength to Ad- "ministration which few other events could at that time have "produced."[b]

The enormities committed by the rioters had inspired a dread of all popular assemblies, however legitimate and peaceable might be the objects they met to promote. The retainers of Government not only succeeded in heightening this feeling of alarm, but in producing also a very general belief that the Whig party were the actual instigators of the late disturbances.

The apathy produced on the public by these unfounded insinuations may be inferred from the following portions of two letters addressed to the Marquis of Rockingham by the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester.[c]

The Duke of Richmond writes,—

"I see no possible good, or at least within the reach of any pro- "bability, to this country from any event. Even the accumulation "of misfortunes, which sometimes rouses nations to sentiments of "virtue, and stirs up vigour to retrieve themselves, seems to be a "lost hope for this country. A general stupidity and ignorance "seems to have seized the nation; its character is lost; and what "we used to wonder at in other nations, reading of their tame sub- "mission to the change from liberty to despotism, we see happen "under our own eyes without the possibility of preventing. The "few who are capable of any exertion are split into miserable little "palliating politics unable to act together.

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[a] M. Necker's letter to Lord North, dated December 1, 1780, was headed "POUR VOUS SEUL, MY LORD," and is printed in the Appendix to Lord Mahon's History, vii. p. xiii.

[b] 'Annual Register,' 1780, vol. xxiv. p. 137.

[c] 'Mem. of Rockingham,' vol. ii. pp. 429-433.

"I mean to attend the House of Lords, not to debate, but to protest against this Dutch war, unless the justice and necessity of it is proved to me by the correspondence. This is all I conceive to be either necessary or advisable for me to do at present."

The Duke of Manchester writes,—

"I am certain you cannot be surprised that, under the present circumstances, and after such long and repeated unsuccessful attacks, I should think it vain to repeat them without change of system on our side, and at least a little unanimity in the mode of our attacks, which I doubt does not at present prevail. However, if anything serious is meant, and you will be so obliging as to summon me, I will certainly obey your call after the ensuing week. After the first day of the meeting I imagine little more than an Address of form can pass, which perhaps it may be difficult to oppose. The Dutch war is certainly a great calamity added to the burdens which this nation was oppressed with; the time and manner of beginning it perhaps to be condemned, or the preceding negotiations weak and ill-managed. But the war itself, from the accounts, such as I have been able to collect in this retirement, does really appear to me to have been quite unavoidable, without great yielding on the side of England, and giving up the once-asserted superiority of the sea. I do not pretend to give any opinion as to the prudence of the measure, but I have a letter from the West Indies so early as at the very beginning of September, in which it is written that a Dutch admiral and a line-of-battle ship had arrived at St. Eustatia, who said that he expected several frigates; that the Dutch were determined to protect their trade; and a report ensued that a Dutch war would take place before Christmas, and that the Dutch admiral behaved very ill to several English privateers."[a]

[a] "The conduct of the Government," says Lord Albemarle, "in thus adding another and powerful nation to our list of enemies, was severely reprobated by the Opposition; but the war was very generally popular 'out of doors,' and all conciliatory amendments were rejected by large majorities." 'Mem. of Rockingham,' vol. ii. p. 428. Horace Walpole differs from the Duke of Manchester in his opinion of the war being unavoidable, but he was wrong in supposing that the Dutch would not really quarrel with England. See letter to the Countess of Ossory, Nov. 26, 1780.

LETTER 659.

* Windsor Castle, Jan. 4th, 1781.
39 min. pt. 6 p.m.

I TRUST Lord North will be very careful what answer he gives to any messages from Lord G. Gordon; indeed, silence seems to me the proper rule of conduct on the occasion; I shall at least follow that mode on the application for publishing his four conversations. Certainly Ld. G. Gordon in his conversations with me stated nothing that can exculpate him. He said, if the restrictions on the Roman Catholics taken off by Parliament were not repealed, that the Petitioners would by force right themselves. He after that calls the meeting in St. George's Fields, and heads them: this does not clear, but in reality add to his guilt.

"Early in the year [1780] Lord George had obtained an audience "of the King, and read out to his Majesty page after page of an "Irish pamphlet, so long as the daylight lasted. He suspected, "or at least he insinuated, that George III. was a Roman Catholic "at heart." (H. Walpole to Lady Ossory, Jan. 29, 1780.) Lord Mahon, vii. p. 16. Perhaps Lord George had heard the following anecdote of the royal clemency. Lord Mansfield, on making a report to the King of the conviction of Mr. Malowny, a Catholic priest, who was found guilty, in the county of Surrey, of celebrating Mass, was induced to represent to his Majesty the excessive severity of the penalty imposed by the law on this offence. The King immediately directed a pardon to be issued to Father Malowny, observing, "God forbid, my Lord, that religious difference in "opinion should sanction persecution, or admit of one man within "my realms suffering unjustly!"

On the 29th of this month Lord George Gordon was brought before the King's Bench. He made a very long, rambling speech, against the opinion of his counsel, Kenyon and Erskine; pleaded "Not guilty;" and was ordered for trial on the Monday se'nnight.

On the 5th of February he was tried for high treason, and, although Lord Mansfield summed up strongly against him, he was declared, after a short consultation by the jury, Not guilty.

It seems strange that he should not have been indicted for misdemeanour, in which case he could hardly have been acquitted. For an account of Erskine's speech in defence of Lord George, see 'State Trials,' vol. xxi. p. 571; Lord Campbell's 'Lives of the Chancellors,' vol. vi. p. 410; 'Edinburgh Review,' No. xxxi. p. 108. "There were still," writes Lord Mahon, vii. p. 86, "in Scotland at "least, some partisans left to Lord George, to rejoice at his acquittal "and subscribe nearly 500*l.* towards his expenses. But the joy "extended further. It was felt on constitutional grounds by many "who had not the slightest political leaning to the silly young "fanatic. 'I am glad,' said Dr. Johnson, 'Lord George Gordon "has escaped, rather than a precedent should be established of "hanging a man for constructive treason.' Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' under the date of April 6, 1781. On the day of the acquittal (5 A.M. Feb. 6) H. Walpole writes to Mason—"A wise "manœuvre truly has been made; they punish him severely for "eight months, and cannot convict him! Now he will be a con-"fessor."

LETTER 660.

*Queen's House, Jan. 14th, 1781.
27 min. pt. 5 p.m.

I HAVE this instant received the box with the warrants, the frost having kept me in town. I am sorry to find the extraordinaries* of the armies in North America and the West Indies have amounted to so immence a sum, and think some new regulations must be made to bring them within more moderate bounds; which, I should suppose, if taken under consideration, that though perhaps not so much retrenched as they might be, yet the difference would be very considerable.

* A statement of these extraordinaries will be found in the Appendix to the Chronicle of the 'Annual Register,' 1781, p. 26.

Letter 661.

* Queen's House, Jan. 25th, 1781.
56 min. pt. 8 a.m.

The division last night was a very handsome [one], and gives just reason to suppose the House of Commons in good humour; I therefore have the most sanguine expectations that, if care is taken that nothing improper is by surprize brought into the House, that Lord North will find this one of the least troublesome Sessions he has been engaged in. Great assiduity ought therefore to be employed that no delays arise in conducting the different points that must naturally come forward; it is not the real business, but the waste of time, that seems to give birth to the difficulties that arise towards the latter part of a Session.

Parliament reassembled after the recess on the 23rd of January. The division in the Commons was upon the King's Message relative to the rupture with Holland, Jan. 25th. The date of this letter should therefore be Jan. 26th. The majority for Ministers was 79 (180—101). His Majesty's anticipations about the *Session* were not fulfilled; it continued from the first meeting of the new Parliament on the 1st of November, 1780, until the 18th of July, 1781—a most unusual protraction at that period of our annals. (Lord Mahon, vii. p. 89, where a list of the principal questions debated is given.)

Lord Brougham—note, p. 155—says, "Debate on the Coventry "election, in which the Government supported Ld. Sheffield and "Mr. Yeo. The division was 109 to 85." But I can scarcely think that his Majesty would have written of 24 as "a very handsome "division," and moreover the debate on the Coventry election took place not on "last night," but on the 23rd of January. ('Parl. Hist.' xxi. p. 950.) Mr. Holroyd had recently been created Lord Sheffield, in consequence of the part he took in Lord G. Gordon's riots. "Colonel "Holroyd was all last night in Holborn, among the flames, with the "Northumberland militia, and performed very bold and able service." (Gibbon to Mrs. Gibbon, June 8th, 1780.)

LETTER 662.

Queen's House, Jan. 27th, 1781.
46 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I AM no farther sorry for the House of Commons not being in a situation to come with the Address this day, [than?] as it shews the unwillingness of gentlemen to be members of the Committees of Elections, which, as the law now stands,* is certainly an essential part of their duty. Perhaps, if the business can go on this day, that two o'clock may be more convenient to the House than three on Monday, as the business will then be less interrupted by the presenting the Address.

LETTER 663.

* Queen's House, Feb. 2nd, 1781.
25 min. pt. 8 a.m.

THE question proposed by Mr. Fox on the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich Hospital was unjust and indecent, as everything that comes from that quarter naturally must be expected; the amendment as proper and putting the whole in its true light, as the author of it will always wish to act; the majority very handsome.

On the 1st of February Mr. Fox moved, "That the appointment "of Sir Hugh Palliser to be Governor of Greenwich Hospital, after "he had been declared guilty of having preferred a malicious and "ill-founded accusation against his commanding officer by the "sentence of a court-martial, was a measure totally subversive "of the discipline and derogatory to the honour of the navy."

The final *amendment*, in which Lord North was assisted by the Solicitor-General (Sir James Wallace), after several previous amendments had been rejected, was:—

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* Mr. George Grenville's Act, 1770.

"*That the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to be Governor of Green-*
"*wich Hospital*, 'who, by the officers who sat on the court-martial
"held for the trial of Admiral Keppel, and before whom Sir Hugh
"Palliser was not charged with any malice in the accusation of the
"said Admiral, or heard in his defence, is declared to have preferred
"an ill-founded accusation against his Commander-in-Chief, and
"whose conduct on the 27th of July, 1778, by a subsequent court-
"martial was, after a full examination, declared to be in many
"respects highly exemplary and meritorious, and who has, during
"the course of forty-five years, served the Crown, both in his
"civil and military capacity, with great ability, bravery, and
"fidelity,' *was a measure totally subversive of the discipline and derogatory*
"*to the honour of the navy.*"

The debates continued till past two o'clock in the morning, when the *amendment* upon Mr. Fox's original motion was carried by a majority of 65 (214—149.) (Ann. Register, 1781, vol. xxiv. p. 173.)

Letter 664.

Queen's House, Feb. 8th, 1781.
40 min. pt. 5 p.m.

Before I received Lord North's note I had read the New York newspaper containing the very material intelligence of the considerable mutiny in the rebel army, which I trust will be followed by the most material consequences.[a]

The Queen has asked me whether Lord North has not yet had any conversation or intimation of the ideas of Mr. Neville; I hope soon to know, for it is not very right that the office should long remain vacant.

[a] "Reports of 2200 men deserting "from Washington to Sir H. Clinton. "This was said (as three years ago of "Washington's defeat) to come to Liver-"pool in a New York Gazette, and was "so confidently asserted by the Court "that the stocks rose on it. However, "no confirmation came in a week after-"wards, and at most it was a small "body who had mutinied for pay and "retired. Strong affirmations were "also made in all the Ministerial papers, "which were almost all the papers, of "a defensive treaty made with the "Emperor (of Germany), which proved "another lie." — H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' ii. p. 443.

Letter 665.

* Queen's House, Feb. 9th, 1781.
55 min. pt. 11 a.m.

Lord North's supposition that the letter he transmitted this morning came from Mr. Wraxall, the member for Hindon, proves very just, by former letters I have received from him; I return it to Lord North, who may see the gentleman, and settle with him any just demands he can have. Undoubtedly he was sent over by the discontented nobility of Denmark, previous to the death of the late Queen my sister, with a plan of getting her back to Copenhagen, which was introduced to me with a letter from her. Her death, and my delicate situation, having consented to her retiring into my German dominions, prevented me from entering eagerly into this proposal.

Ld. North may acquaint Ld. Edgecumbe[a] that he may any day come to St. James's and be presented as Viscount Mount Edgecumbe, and will notify this promotion to the Secretaries of State, that the warrant and subsequent patent may be instantly prepared.

I have this minute received Ld. North's note; Ld. Edgecumbe may certain[ly] kiss hands this day.

Lord Brougham, p. 156, prints Mr. Wraxall's letter.

" 77, New Bond Street, 1st April, 1780.

" Wraxall to [the King].

" I have already presumed twice to address your M. by letter; " and as I am persuaded that the multiplicity of affairs which

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[a] " Feb. 17. George Lord Edgecumbe " advanced to the dignity of a Viscount " to him and his heirs male, by the " name, style, and title of Viscount " Mount Edgecumbe and Valetort."— ' London Gazette,' February.

" engage your M.'s attention has alone prevented your M.'s reply,
" I venture humbly to renew my requests and petitions. I am the
" more emboldened to reiterate my intreaties from the assurances
" which I have received only a few days since from H. R. H. the
" Hereditary Princess of Brunswick[a] to intercede with you on my
" behalf. I am sure it is unnecessary to remind your M. that
" I was intrusted with one of the most important secrets in Europe
" —a conspiracy to place the Queen Matilda of Denmark on her
" throne;—that I had the honour to be intimately confided in by
" H. M., and to be sent by her from Zell to England repeatedly;—
" that I carried back your M.'s Articles and Conditions for the
" accomplishment of this event;—that the lives and fortunes of the
" first Danish nobility were and still are in my possession;—and
" that I have never divulged or betrayed in the smallest degree
" the trust reposed in me. I only humbly request from your M.'s
" bounty the sum, amounting nearly to five hundred pounds, which
" I actually laid out from my private purse for her Danish Majesty.
" This is the ultimate limit of my hopes and entreaties.

" N. W. WRAXALL."

LETTER 666.

[a] Queen's House, Feb. 15th, 1781.
40 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH has, I trust, spoke to Ld. Southampton to[b] ——. Some one of the P. of Wales's family may be authorised, if it should in the debate be thought right, just to drop that he is satisfied with the arrangements I have made for him; for it would be highly indelicate for me to speak to my son on the subject; indeed, I have done for him all that could in reason be expected from me, and I have already grounds to judge the extraordinaries, from his love of expence, will be great, besides some other calls for money that will come from that quarter, which convinces me the more that, if the

[a] The sister of George III., who married the Duke of Brunswick, and was mother of the late Queen Caroline.

[b] Word illegiblo in the MS. [take care that some one, &c. ?]. Lord Southampton was Groom of the Stole to the Prince of Wales.

fixed [sic] [allowance ?] had been greater, that would not have prevented this other article.

I have at last met with a person to take care of my younger sons; he was a captain in the 58th Regiment, and served with credit in the last war in America; his name is Hayes. I therefore now send Lord North the fixed sums necessary to be granted by Privy Seal, bearing equal early date with that for the P. of Wales's establishment, payable to Lieut.-Col. Hotham, for my son Frederick, my sons William and Edward, and my sons Ernest, Augustus, and Adolphus, which Lord North will order to be instantly prepared. The extraordinaries will be made out in the same manner they were by the D. of Montagu, now by Lt.-Col. Hotham.

A calculation of the expences of his Royal Highness Prince Edward's table for twelve months, commencing the first day of June, 1779, and ending the thirty-first day of May, 1780:—

	£.	s.	d.
Kitchen	1519	3	0
Spicery	93	11	0
Beer and ale	92	8	0
Bread	107	4	1½
Desert	357	0	0
Wines	115	18	0
Butter and cheese	37	6	0
	£2322	10	1½

—supposing H. R. Highness to dine at home every day.

In these twelve months H.R.H. dined at Windsor 42 days, which makes a deduction of	267	3	0
Total expense of the last twelve months	£2055	7	1½

£5000 per annum for my dearly-beloved son P. Frederick.
2500 per annum for my dearly-beloved sons P. William and P. Edward.
3500 per annum for my dearly-beloved sons P. Ernest, P. Augustus, and P. Adolphus.

G. R.

LETTER 667.

Queen's House, Feb. 27th, 1781.
44 min. pt. 8 a.m.

THE account of the second reading of Mr. Burke's Bill having been negatived by so great a majority, has, as Lord North can easily imagine, given me much pleasure.

Mr. Burke's renewed Bill for reduction of the Civil List, brought forward on the 15th of February, was read a second time on the 26th, and rejected by a majority of 43 (Noes, 233; Ayes, 190). The debate, remarkable in many ways, was especially so from its introducing William Pitt to the House of Commons. Lord North declared that Pitt made the best *first* speech he ever heard.

LETTER 668.

Queen's House, March 1st, 1781.
48 min. pt. 8 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—Mr. Robinson,[a] as you was engaged, sent me the list of the speakers last night, and the very good majority. I have this morning sent him 6000*l.* to be placed to the same purpose as the sum transmitted on the 21st of August.

[a] Secretary of the Treasury.

Letter 669.

* Queen's House, March 3rd, 1781.
54 min. pt. 8 a.m.

Lord North,—On returning last night from the oratorio I received your box. I think it perfectly right that Mr. Deane should so far be trusted as to have three thousand pound in goods for America; the giving him particular instructions would be liable to much hazard, but his bringing any of the provinces to offer to return to their allegiance on the former foot would be much better than by joint application through the Congress; for if, by the breaking off of some, the rest are obliged to yield, no farther concert, or perhaps amity, can subsist between them, which would not be the case in the other mode, and the fire might only be smothered to break out again on the first occasion.

The history of Silas Deane is wrapt in some mystery. He and General Arnold were early friends, and both deserted the cause which they had once so efficiently supported. Deane appears to have been the victim of intrigue, and to have incurred the enmity of Arthur Lee, Izard, and other Americans. Franklin in 1782 defended Deane from a charge of fraud. The story of these intrigues is related by Mr. Parton in his 'Life of Franklin,' vol. ii. ch. ix. From this letter it is evident that Deane was now in the service of the English Ministry. He joined Arnold in England, and renewed their friendship. Upon hearing of their reunion, John Jay, who, like Franklin, had stood by Deane in all his misfortunes, tore his portrait into shreds, and threw them into the fire. Some time after, when Deane called upon Jay in London, the indignant American wrote to reject his proffered civilities, saying that "every American who gives his "hand to Benedict Arnold, in my opinion, pollutes it."

"For a few months," says Mr. Parton, ib. p. 362, "Deane basked "in the smiles of Tory, and, it is said, of *royal* favour; which is not "unlikely, for George III. had Arnold continually at his side, and "bestowed upon him the most conspicuous marks of favour. But,

" after the peace, Deane was totally neglected. He died at a small " country town, a few years later, in extreme poverty."

Yet he appears to have been " as much sinned against as sinning," for in 1835, forty-five years after his death, Congress paid to his heirs a considerable part of the sum due to them. The sum awarded was thirty-eight thousand dollars. Among Deane's papers at Hartford was found a complete statement of his case by himself, and this, backed by Franklin's testimony to his integrity, weighed with Congress in repairing the wrong done to him.

LETTER 670.

Queen's House, March 6th, 1781.
12 min. pt. 9 a.m.

THE idea of opposing the lottery yesterday seems rather extraordinary. Unless mankind could entirely be prevented from gaming, I am certain it is right for the public to avail itself of that vice rather than lay taxes on the necessaries of life. I see Lord North has postponed for a day or two the taxes.

On the 7th Lord North opened the Budget, and announced that he should fund twenty-one millions to borrow twelve. On the 14th he opened the taxes on most exciseable commodities. For an account of *the lottery*, by which it was proposed to raise the sum of 480,000*l.*, see 'Ann. Register,' Appendix to Chronicle, p. 273, March 8.

Lord Brougham's note, p. 157. " Mr. Fox moved, in the resolu- " tion containing the terms of the loan, to omit the clause concerning " the lottery. This was lost by 169 to 111."

LETTER 671.

* Queen's House, March 27th, 1781.
58 min. pt. 3 p.m.

LORD NORTH'S letter from Bushy, dated last night, did not arrive till I was going this day to St. James's. As Lord Guildford and the Bishop of Worcester interest

themselves in Dr. Palmer's resigning a prebendary of Canterbury in favour of Dr. Lynch, I authorise the step to be taken.[a]

The Athol family[b] seem never contented, but I leave the affair to Lord North to settle as he may think most equitable.

I am not surprized Ld. North feels disgusted at the fatigue he undergoes; he may be certain I feel my task as unpleasant as he can possibly find his, but both of us are in *trammels*, and it is our duty to continue.

Sir John Burgoyne proposed to raise a regiment; he now wishes to decline the undertaking. I certainly never can blame him, as the offer arose from himself.

Letter 672.

* Windsor Castle, March 27th, 1781.
40 min. pt. 7 a.m.

The conduct of Sir Geo. Saville in making so strange a motion yesterday was very consistent with his looking [on] himself as the representative of Wyvile's Congress. I am glad it met with the rejection it deserved.

"Sir George Savile moved for an inquiry into Lord North's "behaviour on the loan. Mr. Byng produced numberless instances "of his partiality in that affair. Drummond, the banker, had "84,000*l.* in his own name, and treble in those of his clerks. Fox "was most severe on Lord North; the Lord Advocate alone defended "him." (H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' ii. p. 455.) Majority for Ministers, 46 (209—163).

Sir Samuel Romilly writes, on the subject of Lord North's loan, to the Rev. John Roget, on the 4th of April:—

[a] "April 7. Rev. John Lynch, Doctor "of Laws, a Canon or Prebendary of "Canterbury, on the resignation of Dr. "Richard Palmer." 'Ann. Register,' xxiv. p. 207.

[b] See Letter 680.

"As for political news, we have none, except that the minority are "very angry with Lord North for the terms upon which he has "made the loan this year, and for his distribution of it among the "subscribers. I should not be very intelligible, I fear, were I to "endeavour to explain what those terms were; suffice it to say, that "they were so advantageous to the subscribers, and consequently so "disadvantageous to the public, that, the next day after they were "declared, they bore a premium of 10 per cent., and have remained "ever since at a premium of between 7 and 10 per cent. The dis-"tribution is complained of as having been made to none but the "friends of the Ministry, and a very great part of it to members of "Parliament, who are thus bribed with the public money to betray "the public, and whose interest it thus becomes to ratify the most "improvident bargain a Minister can make, when they themselves "share the spoil. They are not the guardians of the people, but the "usurers who profit by their prodigality."—'Life of Sir S. Romilly,' vol. i. p. 120.

Letter 673.

Queen's House, March 28th, 1781.
5 min. pt. 8 p.m.

Lord North,—As I shall certainly wish to give the assent in person to the Tax Bills, I desire you will send this evening to the Chancellor, that, if they can be through the House of Lords and returned to the Commons by three o'clock to-morrow, I will come at that time to give my assent. I hope to have a line in answer this night, when you have heard from the Chancellor, that the proper notice may be given for that purpose early to-morrow morning.

I saw Mr. Jenkinson,[a] who gave many very solid reasons against the forming the six regiments. I wish Lord North would see him, as also Lord Amherst and Lord Hillsborough. There seems to be some want of

[a] Charles Jenkinson, Secretary-at-War.

consideration in the whole, that perhaps by this may be cleared up. Mr. Jenkinson thinks he has been treated also unkindly in not being permitted to state his objections to the Cabinet. This he had desired Ld. Amherst would state; but he supposes he never did. The Adjutant-General says Ld. Amherst does not approve of raising these regts., and Lord Hillsborough is said to be of the same opinion.

Letter 674.

Queen's House, April 7th, 1781.
3 min. pt. 3 p.m.

I DESIRED Ld. Bateman to speak to Lord North concerning the manor of Wingfield, as undoubtedly it would prevent many abuses in the forest of Windsor, which cirrounds [sic] it, and which otherwise cannot be attained but by the decisions of law, which are ever tedious and not always expedient. I desire, therefore, Ld. North will, if possible, get Mr. Walsh to give up that pursuit.

The D. of Cumberland certainly has not the smallest claim to interest for the sum Mrs. Colleton has by my direction paid unto him. The Duke was to have paid five hundred per quarter till the whole sum of 12,000*l.* was refunded to me; therefore this was not to arise from accumulation of interest. I should hope the message I shall to-morrow put into Ld. Brudenell's hands will entirely stop any further conversation. I entirely approve of Ld. North's draft, but should wish one word altered. It occurred to me on first reading it this morning, but still more forcibly on reading Ld. North's account of Mr. James Luttrell's conversation, that he should keep the money till it amounted to 12,000*l.* I

wish, therefore, to omit the word "*accumulated*," and put some other that cannot carry with it the idea of any encrease by interest, which was never intended.

Letter 675.

Windsor, April 30th, 1781.

It is not probable that the good Bishop of Winchester will live many hours; Lord North will therefore, as soon as he hears of his death, acquaint the Bishop of Worcester of my appointing him to the See of Winchester, and the Bishop of Litchfield to that of Worcester. Lord Hertford has already my directions to notify the Bishop of Litchfield as Clerk of the Closet the moment he shall find that the present possessor is no more. As to the various translations that this may occasion I desire Ld. North will consult the Archbishop of Canterbury. I owne I think Dr. Horne ought to be the new Bishop; Dr. Graham ought to wait for either Bristol, Landaff, or Carlisle. If he can be told that he will have the first of those three that become vacant he cannot fail of resting contented.

Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, died on the 1st of May.

"May 9th, St. James's. This day, after the levee, Dr. Brownlow "North, Bishop of *Worcester*, kissed his Majesty's hand on being "translated from that see to the bishopric of Winchester; as did "Dr. Hurd, Bishop of *Lichfield* and Coventry, on his translation to "the see of Worcester."—'Gazette.' The Hon. James Cornwallis, Dean of Canterbury, became Bishop of Lichfield, and Dr. Horne had to content himself with the Deanery of Canterbury until 1790, when he was made Bishop of Norwich. See Kilvert's 'Life of Hurd,' p. 141, for an account of the episcopal establishment at Hartlebury Castle.

Letter 676.

Windsor Castle, April 30th, 1781.
22 min. pt. 8 p.m.

The intelligence from Paris, though it makes the supply France gives to the Congress more considerable than was first proposed, yet I do not think it sufficient to reinstate the paper; and if that is not effected, it is impossible the rebellion can long subsist. I authorise Ld. North to have a warrant prepared for Mr. Pierson agreable to the proposition, viz. 250*l.*, which will make him receive about 200*l.*

" The last two years of the revolutionary war were little more than " one long struggle for money. The very facility with which aid had " been obtained from France, and the evident zeal of France in the " common cause, tended to make the States languid in enforcing the " requisite taxation. For the campaign of 1781 there seemed abso- " lutely no resource but the French treasury. 'We must have one of " two things,' wrote Washington to Franklin—'peace, or money from " France;' and to similar purpose wrote Robert Morris and members " of Congress. Franklin was at length ordered to lay the state of " affairs before the French Ministry, and to ask for a loan of twenty- " five millions of francs, as well as for stores requisite for the cam- " paign." " He had to wait three anxious weeks for an answer, during " which arrived Colonel John Laurens, the Minister sent expressly " by Congress to promote the loan. The arrival of Colonel Laurens " gave Franklin an excuse for pressing his request upon M. de Ver- " gennes, who sent for him at length. 'He assured me,' Franklin " wrote, 'of the King's good will to the United States; remarking, " however, that, being on the spot, I must be sensible of the great " expense France was actually engaged in, and the difficulty of pro- " viding for it, which rendered the lending us twenty-five millions " at present impossible. But that, to give the States a signal proof " of his friendship, his Majesty had resolved to grant the sum of six " millions, not as a loan, but as a free gift. This sum the Minister " informed me was exclusive of the three millions which he had " before obtained for me, to pay the Congress drafts for interest " expected in the current year. He added that, as it was understood

" the clothing with which our army had been heretofore supplied " from France was often of bad quality and dear, the Ministers " would themselves take care of the purchase of such articles as " should be immediately wanted, and send them over; and it was " desired of me to look over the great invoice that had been sent " hither last year, and mark out these articles.'

" It was a timely and a precious gift. It enabled Franklin to sus- " tain the credit of America in Europe, and it contributed essentially " to the success of the campaign, which ended in the surrender of " Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. The sum total of the money ob- " tained from France, at the solicitation of Franklin, was twenty-six " millions of francs:—in 1777, two millions; in 1778, three millions: " in 1779, one million; in 1780, four millions; in 1781, ten millions: " in 1782, six millions. These aids were given at a time when " France herself was at war, and while the Minister of France, " M. Necker, constantly opposed the grants."—Parton's 'Life of Franklin,' vol. ii. p. 389. See also Sparks' 'Writings of Washington,' vol. vii. p. 379, for letters from M. de Vergennes to the French Minister in America. The only one of the American envoys at Passy in whom M. de Vergennes put any confidence was—Franklin.

Letter 677.

Queen's House, May 5th, 1781.
50 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I RETURN the papers Lord North put a few days ago into my hands. I have enquired into the actual value of the see of Litchfield, and find that the annual landed receipt amounts to 1500*l.*; that the renewal of leases and other advantages have one year with another amounted to 1500*l.* more; that the Bishop has not overstrained his leases nor hurried on the letting them; that he will therefore leave it in good plight, and that he thinks it cannot justly be valued at less than in the whole fairly at 2500*l.* per annum; I should think therefore the Chancellor, when Ld. North states this

to him, will willingly accept of it for his brother, and let him resign the Temple. I doubt whether he would give up the living of Stanhope, which is nearly as good as the addition of income the Bishop will get by the change.

LETTER 678.

* Queen's House, May 9th, 1781.
15 min. pt. 9 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am much pleased at finding the friends to the present Constitution so numerous on the division in the House of Commons last night.

The corps [sic] of the late Bishop of Winchester was carried from Chelsea yesterday. I therefore think the Bishop of Worcester (whom I met on the road yesterday) and the Bishop of Lichfield should receive notice from you that they may come this day to St. James's, when I shall direct the Secretary of State to prepare the Congé d'élire for the Chapter of Winchester.

"Sir George Savile moved, on the 8th of May, to refer the "petition from the delegated counties for redress of grievances to a "Committee of the whole House. This was negatived by 77 (212—"135)." (Lord Brougham's note, p. 158.) In 'Parl. History' the report of this important debate occupies thirty-one columns (xxii. pp. 138–200).

LETTER 679.

Queen's House, May 15th, 1781.
40 min. pt. 3 p.m.

I WAS much pleased at finding, by the note that was this morning on my table from Lord North, that Mr.

Burke's motion for papers relative to the captured property at St. Eustatius had been rejected by so large a majority.

On returning home I have received this note recommending Mr. Conway to succeed Dr. Howard in the living of Rendlesham in Suffolk, which is within distance of that of Sudbourne, which he already holds. I authorize his notifying that a warrant be prepared for that appointment.

On the 13th of March an express arrived that Sir George Rodney had taken St. Eustatia from the Dutch, with three millions of property and with no loss. The British fleet and army appeared before and surrounded the island of St. Eustatia on the 3rd of February. The Dutch governor, M. de Graaf, was totally unprovided with means of defence, had not even heard of the rupture between his country and England, and accordingly surrendered the island, merely recommending the inhabitants to the known and usual clemency of British commanders. After the surrender Dutch colours were still displayed over the forts, and thus St. Eustatia became for some time a decoy to French, Dutch, and American vessels, whose commanders were unaware of its cession to Sir George Rodney. The loss of property sustained by the Dutch West India Company was great; but British merchants were equal, if not greater sufferers by this capture. They had confided in the neutrality of the place, and in some Acts of Parliament, and not only had they accumulated in it a great quantity of West India produce and European goods, but they had also transferred thither property from islands lately taken by the French. But the British Admiral was no respecter of persons: all the property was seized, inventoried, and declared to be confiscated.

Mr. Burke's motion, on the 14th of May, for an inquiry into the conduct observed on the late capture of the island of Eustatia, particularly with respect to the seizure and confiscation of private property, as well as to many outrages committed at the time, led to a long and most important debate. Involving so many questions of public and private, common and international law, the theme was peculiarly suited to Burke, who poured forth abundant treasures of precedent and illustration, and enlivened his argument with just indignation at the wrong done, and with as just sympathy with the

sufferers. He moved for an Address to the Throne, for copies of all proclamations, memorials, orders, and instructions from, to, or by the commanders by sea and land, for the official correspondence from or to any of his Majesty's Ministers relative to the case. But *cecinit surdis*, and his motion was rejected by 74 (160—86).

Holland and the merchants lost much: but the British nation gained nothing by the booty. Part of it was granted by the King to the fleet and land forces as prize; part on its way home was taken by a French squadron; part, being sold on the spot, was purchased by subjects of neutral powers, and thus, it is said, was in many cases still conveyed, and even at cheaper rates, to the enemy. (Lord Mahon, vii. p. 98.) Lord Rodney's conduct may have been arbitrary, but his hands were clean. "The island" he described as "a nest of thieves and vipers;" but in his despatch to the Secretary of State he says, "The whole I have seized for the "King and the State, and I hope will go to the public revenue "of my country. I do not look upon myself as entitled to one "sixpence, neither do I desire it."

The St. Eustatia business was brought forward again in the next Session. See 'Parl. Hist.,' xxii. p. 1023.

LETTER 680.

* Queen's House, May 17th, 1781.

THE enclosed is the letter I have received from Lady Gower, which I mentioned this morning to Lord North. Since he left me I have seen the D. of Atholl, who stated to me a Bill to explain the agreement made whilst Mr. Grenville presided at the Board of Treasury concerning the Isle of Man, and to define the sovereign and manorial rights. He claims the fisheries; pretends they are of the latter kind; wanted me to decide they were so. I said I had never heard of this new Bill; that he could not expect I should give any opinion whilst unacquainted as to the subject; that the public had bought the sovereignty; that I had no right to give up whatever should prove to be such; that I would acquaint Lord North with what he had said;

and that the D. of Atholl will either demand the fisheries or not, as may be thought equitable by Lord North and the Attorney and Solicitor General. I therefore desire, if Ld. North is not decided as to the point, that he will [consult] with them, fix what is right, and notify in the course of the day the part that will be taken by the servants of the Crown in Parliament to the Duke, who says he will act agreably to such decision. I should guess by his own state[ment] that he has no equitable claim.

LETTER 681.

*Queen's House, June 2nd, 1781.
35 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I WAS pleased at receiving Lord North's account last night of the first reading of the India Bill. It is surprising the House should have been detained by two divisions on the exchange of Spanish prisoners.

After I came from St. James's I read the strange paper Count Belgioso has been ordered by his Court to deliver, which either shews that Austria has not quitted her late partiality to the House of Bourbon, or that, to gain the Court of Russia, the sentiments of Panin* are to guide the mediators. I owne, with either of those opinions I cannot expect any good will be obtained through either of those Courts, and as, with the many enemies we have had to deal with, our own bravery, next to the assistance of Providence and the justice of our cause, has alone supported us, so to that alone must we trust for a restoration of an honourable peace, and any other I will never put my hand to.

* Panin, first minister of Russia, had been one of the conspirators against the Czar Peter III., and was still in the good graces of his widow.

General Smith's Bill for new-modelling the supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal, for indemnifying the Governor and Council for their resistance to the decrees of the said Court, and for directing in future the operations of that jurisdiction. It was read a first time on the 23rd of May, and, after some opposition and modification in its passage, was at length carried through both Houses, and received the Royal assent at the end of the Session. See 'Parl. Hist.,' xxii. p. 303, ib. p. 516.

LETTER 682.

* Windsor Castle, June 6th, 1781.
35 min. pt. 5 p.m.

I SHALL not take any step towards Ld. Hertford till I have seen Ld. North on Friday. I own I agree with him in opinion that, though Ld. Archibald Hamilton had no promise of the living intended for Ld. Hertford's son, yet that its being the parish in which he lives, unless he had been an avowed enemy to Government, he has a better right to have his recommendation attended to than any other person, and I should think that a very natural line for Ld. North on such occasions to follow.

The intelligence from France is curious, and proves that either the power of the Queen[a] will soon be much encreased, or that it will be entirely anihilated.

[a] Marie Antoinette favoured as early as 1776 the cause of the Americans. Paine in his 'Rights of Man' says, "It "is both justice and gratitude to say "that it was the Queen of France who "gave the cause of America a fashion "at the French court." For anecdotes of her in this year see Francis Moore's 'Diary of the (American) Revolution,' vol. ii. p. 82. Madame Campan records her notice of Franklin. In 1789 she admitted that the French court and nobility were paying dear for their enthusiasm in 1779.

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Letter 689.

* Windsor, August 28th, 1781.
40 min. pt. 9 a.m.

I am sorry to be obliged to open a subject to Ld. North that has long given me much pain, but I can rather do it on paper than in conversation; it is a subject of which I know he is not ignorant. My eldest son got last year into a very improper connection with an actress and woman of indifferent character through the *friendly* assistance of Ld. Malden; a multitude of letters past, which she has threatened to publish unless he, in short, bought them of her. He had made her very foolish promisses [sic], which, undoubtedly, by her conduct to him, she entirely cancelled. I have thought it right to authorize the getting them from her, and have employed Lieut.-Col. Hotham, on whose discression [sic] I could depend, to manage this business. He has now brought it to a conclusion, and has her consent to get these letters on her receiving 5000*l.*, undoubtedly an enormous sum; but I wish to get my son out of this shameful scrape. I desire you will therefore see Lieut.-Col. Hotham and settle this with him. I am happy at being able to say that I never was personally engaged in such a transaction, which perhaps makes me feel this the stronger.

The curious in the "transaction" to which this letter relates are referred to Horace Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 457, and the 'Memoirs of Mrs. Robinson' (Perdita), *the actress* herein mentioned.

"Mrs. Robinson, popularly known by her name of *Perdita*, from "the part in which two years before (3 Dec. 1799) she had won the "heart of the youthful Prince of Wales. When she sat to Sir Joshua "Reynolds in 1782 she had left the stage for a year, and had lost "the affections of the Prince for some months. But she was still "in the flower of her youth and loveliness, and it was said in society "that Charles Fox had taken the place at her feet which the Prince

" had lost." "It is comforting to think that in 1783 her friends *did* " wring out of the Prince 500*l.* a-year for her—no very brilliant " compensation for the gains of the profession which she had left to " live with him." (T. Taylor's 'Life of Reynolds,' vol. i. pp. 345–6.)

The letters to "Perdita" were appropriately signed "Florizel." See Genest's 'History of the Stage,' vol. vi. p. 137. Lord *Maldon*, son of the Earl of Essex, had brought about the Prince's acquaintance with Mrs. Robinson. (H. Walpole's 'Last Journals,' ii. p. 447.)

LETTER 690.

* Windsor, October 23rd, 1781.
42 min. pt. 6 p.m.

UPON the present vacancy by the death of Lord Hawke I certainly mean to confer the Order of the Bath on Lord Ligonier, which Lord North may acquaint him with.[a] I have not as yet received the Ensigns of the Order from the representatives of that Lord, and the absence of a Knight's of that Order will make it impossible for me as yet to mention the time when I can with propriety invest Lord Ligonier.

Lord Rochford's situation is truly pitiable; he has drawn it up not ill. He certainly ought to have a pension till otherwise provided for. Lord North must examine to what extent it has been usual to go. As far as my memory serves me, Earls have generally had from 600*l.* to 800*l.*

I desire Lord North will direct the instrument to be prepared, appointing Dr. Joseph Jowett, of Trinity Hall, Regius Professor of Civil Law; but I expect the gentleman is to engage to read lectures, and not to turn this, which was founded for the improvement of the young gentlemen at Cambridge, into a sinecure, which has of late rather disgraced those appointments.

[a] Edward, Earl Ligonier, received the "Order" 1781, and died in 1782, June.

Ld. North's ideas on Mr. Francis seem very candid, and are so consonant to my opinion, that I shall exactly measure my reception of him to-morrow by that scale.

I quite agree that the retreat of Mr. D[eane] to Ghent shews his conduct is sincere.

"Died October 16, at Sunbury, in Middlesex, the Right Hon. "Edward Lord Hawke, K.B., Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, Admiral "of the Fleet, President of the Maritime School, and an Elder Brother "of the Trinity House." ('Ann. Register,' 1781, vol. xxiv. p. 215.) Charles Fox called him the "Father of the British Navy," and contrasted his administration of it with that of his successor, Lord Sandwich, on the 27th of November in this year. Lord Hawke was First Lord of the Admiralty from 1766–1771.

The Right Hon. William Henry Nassau de Zulestein, *Earl of Rochford*, died at St. Osyth, Essex, on the 28th of September. The petitioner was his nephew and heir, Wm. Henry Nassau, who inherited his uncle's title, and little else.

Dr. Joseph Jowett did not turn the Regius Professorship of Civil Law into a sinecure. His lectures were decent, his Latinity in the schools was celebrated for its elegance. Jowett was remarkable for his small person and small garden. Porson has the credit for the following verses upon him:—

"A *little* garden *little* Jowett made,
"And fenced it with a *little* palisade;
"Because this garden made a *little* talk,
"He changed it to a *little* gravel walk:
"And now, if more you'd know of *little* Jowett,
"A *little* time, it will a *little* show it."

Some jokes having passed on this diminutive garden, it was turned into a plot of gravel.

There is indeed a shorter, perhaps an amended, form of this epigram:—

"A *little* garden *little* Jowett made,
"And fenced it with a *little* palisade;
"A *little* taste hath *little* Dr. Jowett,
"This *little* garden doth a *little* show it."

With this Latin version:—

"*Exiguum* hunc hortum fecit Jowettulus iste
"*Exiguus*, vallo et muniit *exiguo*:
"*Exiguo* hoc horto forsan Jowettulus iste
"*Exiguus* mentem prodidit *exiguam*."

Letter 691.

* Windsor, October 29th, 1781.
35 min. pt. 3 p.m.

On returning from hunting I have found Lord North's letter accompanying one from Lord Chesterfield on the subject of the Lieutenancy of the county of Bucks, likely to be vacant within a few days by the death of Lord le Despencer. Undoubtedly Lord Chesterfield's political conduct deserves a preference to that of Lord Temple, and I certainly will never again appoint to one of those offices any one whose sentiments are not cordial with Government; I shall therefore certainly decide in favour of Ld. Chesterfield, perhaps less cordially, from private reasons, than I should have done some months ago.

Lord le Despencer died at West Wycombe, Bucks, on the 11th of December. He is the celebrated Sir Francis Dashwood, one of the monks of Medmenham Abbey, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1762.

Some years ago. Lord Chesterfield at this moment was one of Prince Hal's companions, and therefore very distasteful to the King, who, however, appointed him a Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. His Lordship's "*political conduct*" perhaps outweighed his moral infirmities. Lord Chesterfield made himself very acceptable to the Prince—"adhibitos custodes vitæ suæ honestiores "ferre non potuit; pessimos quosque detinuit." — Lampridius, *Commod.* (Aug. Hist. Script.) § 2.

Letter 692.

Windsor, October 29th, 1781.
4 min. pt. 7 p.m.

The answer I wrote to Lord North this afternoon on the application of Ld. Chesterfield makes it necessary to say but little on the application from Lord Temple; in-

deed, his letter gives no grounds for changing my opinion. Ld. North's answer should be couched in civil terms, and acquainting him that Ld. Chesterfield had long applied and had been appointed prior to his application. I suppose Ld. North will be much pressed for the vacant Postmaster. Lord Aylesford has many months applied to me. I have answered that I shall ever wish to assist him, but that I must see what applications are made and what is most suitable to my service, not alone to be swayed by personal good inclination.

Lord Barrington obtained the Postmastership. Lord Sandwich wanted it for Lord Dudley, and Lord North for his relation Lord Willoughby de Broke. Just now it seems that the Minister's intercession was less potent than usual. He was bent on obtaining the provostship of Eton for his son's tutor, Dr. Dampier, but the King appointed Dr. Roberts. See Letter 699.

Letter 693.

* Windsor, November 3rd, 1781.
54 min. pt. 11 p.m.

Lord North will be naturally curious to know what news has been brought this day by Lieut.-Col. Conway.[a] I have within this half-hour seen him, and as far as I have been able as yet to collect from him, that, having had Sir Henry Clinton's leave to come to England when the campaign in Virginia was supposed to be at an end, and being better able, from having later left that province, than any one at New York, to state the situation of Ld. Cornwallis, Sir Henry had judged it right still to send him with his dispatches. His opinion seems to be that Ld. Cornwallis will certainly leave the Chesa-

[a] Robert, third son of Francis Earl of Hertford.

peak and return to Charles Town after having beat La Fayette, and that both these are likely events; that before he sailed a report of this had arrived from Philadelphia; on the whole, he supposes we shall in very few days hear from Ld. Cornwallis, and he trusts Sir Henry Clinton will soon have somewhat decisive to communicate. This I owne gives me satisfaction. With such excellent troops, if such an event can be effected, I think success must ensue. I feel the justness of our cause; I put the greatest confidence in [the] valour of both navy and army, and, above all, in the assistance of Divine Providence. The moment is certainly anxious; the dye is now cast whether this shall [continue ?] a great empire or the least dignified of the European States. The object is certainly worth struggling for, and I trust the nation is equally determined with myself to meet the conclusion with firmness. If this country will persist, I think an honourable termination cannot fail, for truth is ever too strong for such a conduct as France has held; and if we have any material success, she will become sick of the part she has acted. Duplicity can never withstand any disasters, but those who act on other motives ought ever to support any misfortune from the consciousness of the rectitude of intentions.

"Nov. 3. Colonel Robert Conway, Aid-de-camp to Sir Henry "Clinton, arrived express from him to represent the delicate posture "of affairs. Lord Cornwallis was in most imminent danger of being "enveloped and starved by the Americans and French, the latter "having landed 4000 men, and Lord Cornwallis having provisions "but for a month or six weeks. The French had taken Lord "Rawdon, and the Congress demanded him of them, to hang in "revenge for one of theirs he had hanged; but it was not supposed "the French would give him up. Sir H. Clinton was going on an "expedition to try to relieve Lord Cornwallis, but they were so ill "together, that Sir Henry had owned to Conway that he was deter-"mined to challenge Lord Cornwallis after the campaign. Eight

" ships of the line had joined the French in the Chesapeak, and " they were now thirty-seven to twenty-three, of which latter many " had suffered much in the late engagement under Graves.* Admiral " Digby now commanded, and it was determined, it was said, by " positive orders, to attack the French. Conway told his father, " Lord Hertford, that every captain in the navy disapproved, yet, " from bravery, would not oppose it. The French had taken three " of our frigates. Arnold had burnt New London, and taken great " quantity of rebel stores, but lost two regiments in the attack, who " were cut to pieces. This victory was all that was mentioned in " the 'Gazette' of all Conway brought. He told his father we had " not a friend left in America." (H. Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 473.)

LETTER 694.

*Windsor, November 10th, 1781.
15 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—Lord Hillsborough mentioned yesterday the proposal of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland that Mr. Flood should lose the office of Vice-treasurer of Ireland, and be succeeded by Lord Shannon, to which I could not have the smallest objection. The private character of the former must make me very ready to supersede him. I directed Lord Hillsborough to throw out to the Lord-Lieutenant whether it might not be proper to remove him also from a seat at the Irish Council-board.

Henry Flood had been Vice-Treasurer since 1775. He was succeeded by Richard Earl of Shannon on the 21st of November. Perhaps we might read, as "a certissima emendatio," political conduct for "private character" in this letter. Flood was still acting with Grattan, and disloyally exerting himself for the interests of Ireland.

" Lord Carlisle, in Ireland, had carried everything in Parliament " by great majorities, and had Mr. Flood turned out for opposing.

* Off the Capes of Virginia, September 5th.

"But they had still reason to apprehend danger from the Irish "volunteers. Those of Ulster sent letters to the rich peers here who "had estates in Ireland, demanding contributions in a tone not to "be refused." (H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' ii. p. 491.)

LETTER 695.

* Windsor, November 11th, 1781.
50 min. pt. 6 p.m.

LORD NORTH is very right in supposing I should think Sir Thomas Egerton the proper person to recommend to the Wardenship of Manchester College, vacated by the death of Dr. Peploe. He will therefore direct the proper instrument to be prepared, appointing the Rev. Mr. Ashton to this preferment. Besides Sir Thomas Egerton's zealous attachment to my government, I know the goodness of his private character, and that he would not recommend a clergyman whose moral character could be in the least suspicious.

Lord Temple's letter is not couched with that temper which could incline a reconsideration of his request.[a]

A few days before the meeting of Parliament for its winter session arrived the news of the last great event of the American war—the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. Lord North had long before despaired of the issue of the contest, and felt that this event fulfilled his worst expectations. Yet, with his usual culpable acquiescence in the royal will, he went down to Parliament with an opening Speech, in which, faintly deploring the disaster, he called upon the country to make fresh efforts to retrieve it, and to maintain—the demand must have sounded like irony—the integrity of the empire.

The King could still command large, or at least respectable majorities, in both Houses; yet the beginning of the end was apparent.

[a] Lord Temple became Lord-Lieutenant of Bucks in the March following. But his Majesty was not "*pleased* to appoint him."

The country gentlemen did not answer cordially to the appeal for "more men from England" and more money; and when in England the Country party grows weary or ashamed of war, it is a sign that peace is not far distant. "They had applauded this war," says Mr. Massey, vol. i. p. 407, "as they had applauded every war, "whether just or unjust, necessary or unnecessary, in which the "country had been engaged for the last century at least. Some-"times religious rancour, sometimes hatred of the French, sometimes "the mere insolence of power, have prompted the people of England "to abet the ambition or folly of their rulers, to mingle in wars "with which they had no concern, or to provoke wars with nations "which had given them no just cause of offence. But the war of "American Independence redounded as little to the honour of this "country in its commencement as it did in the result. It originated, "on the side of the colonists, in that good old cause which appealed "to the generous sympathy of Englishmen, by whom it had been so "often and so gloriously asserted. But in the opinion of the people "of this country the resistance of colonists to arbitrary taxation was "rebellion; their remonstrance against oppressive port-duties and "restrictions on their commerce for the exclusive benefit of the "parent-state were presumptuous attempts to evade the incidents of "their dependent condition. So long as it seemed possible to enforce "these tyrannical and selfish maxims there was no compunction on "the part of the people of England in prosecuting this illiberal and "unjust war: but when they found that their arms made no pro-"gress, and that the expense of conquering and keeping down "the colonies would far exceed any revenue which they might "wring from their scanty resources; and when it was discovered, "moreover, that the colonial trade was not of the importance to "their interests which they had supposed, they were willing to "desist from the unprofitable and inglorious struggle."

The feelings of the nation at this period are thus described in the 'Annual Register,' probably by the pen of Burke, xxv. p. 126:—

"During the recess of Parliament no material change had taken "place, either in the general temper of the nation or in the political "state of the contending parties. A total indifference to the despe-"rate situation of affairs, or at least to the means of retrieving them, "seems to have marked at this time the character of the people "beyond any former period of our history. The unsuccessful ope-"rations of the campaign, a circumstance which in former times had "shaken the stability of the most popular administrations, scarcely "raised a murmur against the present. The retreat of the Channel "fleet recurred with the regularity of an annual review, and was "regarded with as much unconcern. Our commerce was inter-

"cepted, the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland threatened and "insulted; the ancient boast and security of this kingdom, the "dominion of the sea, was seen in danger of being transferred to "our enemies, without its exciting any other feeling than what the "imminence of danger at the time produced. Our very successes "had unfortunately been confined against a power whose interests "had hitherto been considered as in some measure involving our "own; and the inconsiderate joy with which these triumphs over "an ancient ally and a weak and unprovided enemy were received "by the people afforded matter of no small concern to those who "revered the old and approved maxims of English policy."

Parliament met on the 27th of November, two days after the news of Lord Cornwallis's surrender reached London.* Lord Shelburne moved an amendment on the Address in the Lords. It was rejected by the considerable majority of 44 (75—31). Three Peers subscribed a short protest. A corresponding amendment was moved by Mr. Fox in the Commons, which was rejected by a majority of 89 (218—129).

The writer in the 'Annual Register' thus comments on these divisions:—

"The patient acquiescence of so large a majority in both Houses, "under the repeated disgraces in which the pursuance of the contest "with America had involved the country, could be attributed to no "other cause than the necessity they found themselves under of "supporting the Minister at all events, or of abandoning a favourite "war connected in some measure with their political prejudices, and "in which their passions had been artfully and successfully in-"flamed. But the event alluded to above having cut up from the "root all hope of subjugating the revolted colonies in the minds of "even the most sanguine adherers to that system, it was not to be "expected they would so readily overlook the errors or connive at "the misconduct of those under whose mismanagement they had "reaped nothing but mortification and disgrace."

The House of Commons adjourned on the 6th of December to the 23rd of January; the Lords on the 27th of November to the 25th of January.

* For the reception of the news by Lord North and the King on Sunday, November 25, see Wraxall's 'Memoirs,' vol. ii. pp. 101-8, 2nd ed. It became necessary to alter and almost reconstruct the King's Speech, which had been prepared and predicted a speedy termination of the war—a prophecy fulfilled indeed, but neither according to the letter nor the spirit of the composers of the Speech.

Letter 696.

* Queen's House, November 28th, 1781.
40 min. pt. 8 a.m.

Lord North's account that the Address was carried this morning by a considerable majority is very pleasing to me, as it shews the House retains that spirit for which this nation has always been renowned, and which alone can preserve it in its difficulties. That some principal members have wavered in their sentiments as to the measures to be pursued does not surprize me. Many men chuse rather to despond on difficulties than see how to get out of them. I have already directed Ld. G. Germain to put on paper the mode that seems most feesible [sic] for conducting the war, that every member of the Cabinet may have his propositions to weigh by themselves, when I shall expect to hear their sentiments seperately, that we may adopt a plan and abide by it; fluctuating counsels, and taking up measures with[out] connecting them with the whole of this complicated war, must make us weak in every part. With the assistance of Parliament, I do not doubt, if measures are well connected, a good end may yet be made to the war, but if we despond certain ruin ensues.

Letter 697.

Queen's House, Nov. 28th, 1781.
8 min. pt. 8 p.m.

I cannot say I expected the day[a] of to-day would have been so short, considering the great love modern

[a] Sic, evidently "debate."

orators have of hearing themselves speak; the division was certainly a very good one; and I have no doubt, when men are a little recovered of the shock felt by the bad news, and feel that if we recede no one can tell to what a degree the consequence of this country will be diminished, that they will then find the necessity of carrying on the war, though the mode of it may require alterations.

The debate was "on the Motion for bringing up the Report of "the Address;" majority for Ministers, 77 (131—54); but it does not appear to have been "a short" debate.

Walpole, writing to Sir H. Mann on the 29th of November, says: "The warmth in the House of Commons is prodigiously rekindled; "but Lord Cornwallis's fate has cost the Administration no ground "*there*. The names of most *éclat* in the Opposition are two names "to which those walls have been much accustomed at the same "period—CHARLES FOX and WILLIAM PITT, second son of Lord "Chatham. Eloquence is the only one of our brilliant qualities "that does not seem to have degenerated rapidly."

The bad news: "25th. A packet-boat that carried the Comte de "Jarnac from Dover to Calais brought back a French Gazette with "an account of Lord Cornwallis and his whole army having been "made prisoners, at York Town, by General Washington, at the "head of the French and Americans. This was soon confirmed "by an express from Sir Henry Clinton, who, on hearing the news, "had retired with his troops and his fleet to New York, and had "luckily not attacked the French fleet, very superior, and drawn "up at the mouth of the Chesapeak, fortified on both sides by "strong redoubts. He had certainly been deceived originally "by Washington's feint of attacking New York." (H. Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 474.)

LETTER 698.

Windsor, Dec. 1st, 1781.
57 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I HAVE received the list of speakers yesterday, and the numbers of the division. When Lord North said

yesterday that he heard it was the intention of Opposition to attempt to postpone the usual Committee for granting a supply, I owne I thought it too violent a measure for the leaders to think advisable, and that they ought to throw the difficulty on Administration, not take it on themselves. I am happy so injudicious a measure has been pursued; not only Parliament, but every man of reflection in the kingdom must now see where those desperate men are driving, and this will, I trust, make members attend assiduously, as every unfair step may be expected, and it behoves the friends of this Constitution to be always at hand to repel their attempts.*

LETTER 699.

Windsor, Dec. 2nd, 1781.
55 min. pt. 3 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I have this instant received your letter. You will recollect that, when I told you that I thought the Provost of Eton was likely to die, I desired you would, whenever that happened, recollect that I wished it might be given to the man whose literary tallents might make the appointment respectable. I cannot fairly look on Dr. Dampier as exactly answering that character; besides, for a young man, he is greatly preferred. I would much rather give him a deanery than put him where the person pitched upon ought either to have years or avowed tallents; sure it would be very hard on Dr. Roberts.

I shall therefore only consent to Dr. Davies for the

* Debate in the Commons on Mr. Thomas Pitt's motion for delaying the supplies; majority for Ministers, 95 (172—77).

vacant Cannonry [sic] of Windsor, and leave the rest open till you have reconsidered it, for Eton should not be bestowed by favour, but merit.

Rev. Edward Barnard, D.D., Provost of Eton College, Canon of Windsor, and one of his Majesty's Chaplains, died on the 2nd of December; and on the 22nd, William Hayward Roberts, D.D., succeeded him as Provost. Dr. Davies gave Richard Porson his bent towards philology.—See Watson's 'Life of Porson,' p. 28.

LETTER 700.

* Queen's House, Dec. 13th, 1781.
35 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I WAS rather disappointed at the majority not being greater this morning, particularly when I read the question moved by Sir James Lowther.[a] For though I think, as things are situated, it is impossible to propose great continental opperations [sic] in North America, yet I am certain Parliament shewing a reluctance to them must encourage the rebells, and make them plan offensive expeditions on our posts, which would have been avoided had they not known that our measures would alone be defensive. It seems to me that Lord North could not avoid giving the explanation he did.

Lord North's explanation. He said that "he should object undoubtedly to the motions, but, in giving a negative to them, he felt himself bound in some degree, and especially after what had passed lately on another occasion, to speak more out upon the future mode of prosecuting the war than it was either wise

[a] Sir James Lowther's motion for putting an end to the American war was negatived by 41 (220—179).

" or politic for a man in a high and responsible office to do at
" any time, unless the urgent necessity of the case rendered it
" impossible for him to make any other election of conduct. He
" was willing to declare his sincere and honest opinion, that it
" would not be wise or right to go on with the American war as
" we had done; that was to say, to send armies to traverse from the
" south to the north of the provinces in their interior parts, as had
" been done in a late case, and which had failed of producing the
" intended and desired effect. He was ready to say so much. It
" was a declaration attended with some inconvenience, nor would
" he have made it, even then, had not the estimates of the army
" already upon the table declared as much in the most clear and
" express manner to every gentleman who would have given himself
" the trouble to read them. By those estimates gentlemen would
" find that the army which the Secretary-at-War meant to ask for
" was the same as that asked for last year, with some little variation,
" for the East Indies: whereas, had it been the intention of the
" Government to prosecute the war continentally, according to the
" mode of carrying it on hitherto, they must have applied for a much
" larger army." ('Parl. Hist.' xxii. p. 809; comp. Lord Mahon, vii. p. 130; Massey, vol. ii. p. 409.)

Letter 701.

Windsor, Dec. 15th, 1781.
35 min. pt. 8 a.m.

The account of the very great majority on the first motion on the Army Estimates last night gives me much pleasure, and shews the country gentlemen begin to see that, though internal continental opperations in North America are not advisable, the prosecution of the war can alone preserve us from a most ignominious peace, which, when once concluded, would certainly occasion much greater internal uneasiness than any difficulties at present to be contended with. I have just wrote to Ld. G. Germain, whom I did not see yesterday, on the subject of Lt.-G. Carleton.

Debate in the Commons on the Army Estimates. Majority for Ministers, 82 (166—84).

The country gentlemen. "Notwithstanding this large majority on "the first day of the Session, it grew manifest that many inde- "pendent *country gentlemen*—at their head Mr. Thomas Powys, then "member for Northamptonshire, and afterwards Lord Lilford— "were resolved to pursue no further the contest with the Colonies. "Only a few days afterwards, when the *Army Estimates* were moved, "Sir James Lowther, seconded by Mr. Powys, interposed with a "Resolution that the war carried on in North America had been "ineffectual. The Ministerial majority on Sir James's motion, Dec. "12, was only 41 (220—179)." (Lord Mahon, vii. p. 129.)

Parliament adjourned for the holidays on the 21st, which Walpole accounts "one piece of luck for the Great Delinquent, Lord Sand- "wich."—Letter to Sir H. Mann, Dec. 21st.

LETTER 702.

**Windsor, Dec. 26th, 1781.
46 min. pt. 8 a.m.

ON Sunday evening I received from Ld. George Germain an application in the name of the Cabinet, that another Commander-in-Chief be appointed for North America, to which I returned the following answer.

"The appointing a Commander-in-Chief in North "America is a measure of a complicated nature, and "requires thorough consideration before I can form "any opinion enough digested to be able to state my "thoughts to Ld. G. Germain. He may rest assured "that it shall be uppermost in my thoughts, and that "I shall not allow any unnecessary delay to arise in "the determination of a point which must precede "the other necessary steps for conducting the war in "that part of the globe."

Having spoken twice fully on the subject to Lord

North, and having nothing new arises in [sic] my mind on it, I chose to let a few days elapse before I desired Ld. North's final opinion on this subject. I shall therefore be very short on this occasion. Undoubtedly, if Sir Guy Carleton can be persuaded to go to America, he is every way the best suited for the service. He and Ld. G. Germain are incompatible. Ld. George is certainly not unwilling to retire if he gets his object, which is a Peerage; no one can then say he is disgraced; and when his retreat is accompanied with the appointment of Sir Guy Carleton, the cause of it will naturally appear without its being possible to be laid with any reason to a change in my sentiments on the great essential point, namely, the getting a peace at the expence of a seperation from America, which is a step to which no difficulties shall ever get me to be in the smallest degree an instrument.

If Ld. North agrees with me that, on the whole, it is best to gratify the wishes of Ld. G. Germain and let him retire, that no time may be lost, I desire he will immediately sound Mr. Jenkinson as to his succeeding him; for I must be ready with a successor before I move a single step.

Had Ld. North thought the American Secretary might cease, Ld. Stormont could with great [ease?] conduct the correspondence with all the European Courts; Ld. Hillsborough, instead of the Southern Courts, take the American business in addition to his remaining branches.

The retiring Commander-in-Chief was Sir Henry Clinton; his successor Sir Guy Carleton. Ministers "determined to proceed " without Lord George Germaine, whom they found as keen as ever " for the subjugation of the Colonies. Indeed, he had taken occasion, " not long since, in the House of Commons, to declare that, be the

"consequences what they might, he would never be the minister to "sign any treaty that gave independence to America. The King "agreed to his resignation, provided it were dignified with a "peerage."

"Soon after Parliament reassembled," after the Christmas recess, "the Gazette announced the creation of Germaine as Viscount "Sackville. Upon the first report of this peerage, the Marquis "of Carmarthen moved in the Peers that to recommend to the "Crown for such a dignity any person labouring under so heavy "a sentence of a court-martial was derogatory to the honour of the "House of Lords. And when the new-made Viscount took his seat "the same motion was renewed. Thus the old complaint of his "conduct at Minden was again ripped up: thus his first speech in "that House was the attempt to clear himself from an opprobrious "imputation." (Lord Mahon, vii. p. 133; comp. 'Parl. Hist.' xxii. 999 foll.; Wraxall's Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 129—132.)

More signs of division in the Court party manifested themselves during the Christmas recess, and more also among the Country party after the reassembling of Parliament. The Lord-Advocate would no longer serve with Lord George Germaine; Sir John Rous, one of the members for Suffolk, hitherto a steady Tory and supporter of Lord North, came forward on the 15th of March with a motion for a vote of "No confidence" in Ministers. Opposition had gained a formidable champion in young William Pitt. Veteran jobbers like Rigby read the signs of the times. Ministers hoped to save themselves by sacrificing Lords Sandwich and George Germaine; but these, the most obnoxious Ministers to the nation, were among the most acceptable to the King.[a] The early weeks of the Session of 1782 passed in a struggle between despair on the part of the Court and of hope on that of its opponents. By no one was the inevitable doom of the Ministry more clearly discerned than by Lord North, and he honestly strove to persuade and reconcile the King to a change of advisers and measures.

But, as will be seen by the next-following letters, the King was inexorable. For twelve years he had reigned as he believed a King ought to reign. He had ruled: and although he had small reason to plume himself upon the success of his experiment in ruling, his tenacity of purpose did not give way. To return to the Whig oligarchy he regarded as little short of deposition. He even meditated departing for Hanover. The Royal yacht was put in train

[a] "The separation between the Sove- "reign and the Secretary" for America "was by no means unaccompanied "with emotion on both sides."—Wraxall, l. c.

for a voyage. He would inscribe one more name upon the list of famous exiles. He would banish the Commons of Britain: he would lay down the fasces before they were wrenched from his hands. He was not, however, destined to re-enact the part of Coriolanus or Sulla. The divisions of the Whig party in office rescued George III. from thoughts of exile or abdication. He continued to reign, if not as before to rule, although he had been mainly instrumental in losing thirteen colonies, eight islands, two whole armies, the sovereignty of the sea for a time, and in nearly doubling the national debt.[a]

Talking to Lord Hertford shortly before the news of the surrender at York Town had reached him, he said, "I know my enemies are "superior everywhere. I am as desirous of peace as any man; but "how can I make it, when France and Spain are so unreasonable?" He dropped that they demanded Gibraltar and Port Mahon, but he himself had offered the more important, the former. It is much more likely that what was said at Paris was true: that the Emperor had offered to make peace for us, and that the King had answered, "I want nobody to make peace for me; when France and Spain, "who make unjust war upon me, will make me amends, I shall "be ready to make peace."[b]

"Lord Hertford told me," continues Walpole, "that the Americans

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[a] "The tidings that came from time "to time of the progress of the war "were by no means such as to raise the "drooping spirits of the Ministry. In "the West Indies, even before the "close of the preceding year (1781), "the Marquis de Bouillé had surprised "and retaken the island of St. Eustatia, "mainly through the negligence of the "English commander, Colonel Cock-"burn. Our other new conquests of "Demerara and Essequibo were in like "manner wrested back from us. Next "De Bouillé turned his arms against "our old and valuable possession of "St. Kits, where he landed 8000 men, "protected by De Grasse's fleet. Basse-"terre, the capital of the island, was "built of wood, and could make no "defence on the land-side; but the "troops and militia, headed by General "Fraser and Governor Shirley, took "post on the rugged heights of Brim-"stone Hill. Sir Samuel Hood also, "who had followed the French Admiral "in returning from Chesapeak, inter-"posed by a bold manœuvre between "him and the French forces on shore, "and most gallantly repulsed two sepa-"rate attacks by which De Grasse hoped "to recover his lost anchorage-ground. "But Hood could only delay, he could "not prevent the surrender of the set-"tlement; and the small islands of "Nevis and Montserrat soon followed: "so that, of the entire Leeward cluster, "Barbadoes and Antigua only remained "in British hands." Lord Mahon, vii. p. 133.

[b] Horace Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 472. Port Mahon was taken from us on the 5th of February, 1782. The following is a list of the losses of England at the end of 1781 and the beginning of 1782. Walpole adds, "List not received." But it is pretty accurately supplied by Wraxall, 'Hist. Memoirs,' vol. ii. p. 158. He adds to his enumeration of losses: "Fears enter-"tained for Jamaica; Gibraltar closely "besieged. On every side the empire "appeared to be crumbling to ruin. "Hyder Ally, though expelled by Sir "Eyre Coote from the vicinity of "Madras, still maintained himself in "the centre of the Carnatic."

" had very recently offered to make peace with us on worse terms " than we had offered, and that Lord North was for agreeing with " them, yet that none of his friends could prevail on him to declare " for their side; that Lord Sandwich and Lord George Germaine, " though mortal enemies, humoured the King in his resolution " of not allowing the Americans independence, as the only means " of keeping place themselves."

It cannot be denied that the King was encouraged in his aversion to admit the independence of America, even at the eleventh hour of the struggle, by the general feeling of this country. It was not only by Fast-sermons and by Parliamentary speeches that his delusion was confirmed. One of the most pious and humane men then in Britain—and whose opinion is not the less valuable because he who held it was a recluse—thus endorses the sentiments of Markham, Sandwich, and Germaine.

Cowper wrote to the Rev. John Newton, January 13, 1782:—

" What course can Government take? I have heard (for I never " made the experiment) that, if a man grasp a red-hot iron with his " naked hand, it will stick to him, so that he cannot presently dis- " engage himself from it. Such are the colonies in the hands of " Administration. While they hold them, they burn their fingers, " and yet they must not quit them. It appears to me that the " King is bound, both by the duty he owes to himself and his " people, to consider himself with respect to every inch of his " territories as a trustee, deriving his interest in them from God, " and invested with them by Divine authority for the benefit of his " subjects. As he may not sell them or waste them, so he may not " resign them to an enemy, or transfer his right to govern them to " any, not even to themselves, so long as it is possible for him to " keep it. If he does, he betrays at once his own interest and that " of his other dominions. Viewing the thing in this light, if I sat " on his Majesty's throne, I should be as obstinate as he; because, " if I quitted the contest while I had any means left of carrying " it on, I should never know that I had not relinquished what I " might have retained, or be able to render a satisfactory account " to the doubts and inquiries of my own conscience." *

* And yet the same writer pronounced, in some of the finest verses he ever wrote, the condemnation of war. See opening lines of the second book of the 'Task:' but then he contemplated war with anointed kings and orthodox nations, not with "rebels" struggling for their rights — Δύσταν οι Μεγαρῆες ἀτιμοτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρᾳ.

Letter 703.

* Queen's House, Jan. 17th, 1782.
2 min. pt. 7 p.m.

I send back the two boxes of warrants which I have signed. Lord North not having yet come to any decision concerning Lord G. Germain put me this day under much difficulty, he having put the question to me whether he was or was not to look on himself as Secretary of State, and complained of Ld. North's reception of Mr. Knox when sent to ask him that question. To which I could only say that as yet certainly no step had been taken to remove him, but that I thought I had a right to ask him whether or not he was willing to remain; to which he spoke very candidly, that, if the war was carried on with vigour, if steps were taken to strike a blow in the West Indies, he was ready to stay, and that the separation with America was not adopted; but that he would never retract what he had said on that head. He will be ready to talk with Ld. North, but he will expect explicit and decisive language. Indeed, I cannot blame him for that, for I think he cannot with honor continue unless he is supported by his colleagues.

Walpole reports—'Last Journals,' ii. p. 493—that, when Lord North notified to Lord George the necessity of his quitting the American Secretaryship, the latter said, with spirit and good sense, "You say I must go, my Lord! Very well; but pray, why is your "Lordship to stay?"

Letter 704.

*Queen's House, Jan. 21st, 1782.
10 min. pt. 10 a.m.

If Lord North had opened the boxes of warrants which he sent to me on Thursday, and which I returned that evening, he would have found in one of them a letter I wrote, after having that day seen Lord G. Germain, wherein I stated all that had past. To this I refer Ld. North, and shall only remark that Ld. North on that day had told me that Mr. Knox[a] had been with him some days before with a message from Ld. G. Germain to know whether he was or was not to remain in office, and that on Friday he meant to talk the matter over with Ld. G. Germain; therefore, when Ld. George asked of me the same question, and complained of the reception Ld. North had given to Mr. Knox, I told him Ld. North had just said he meant the next day (Friday) to have a personal interview with him. Undoubtedly the strange indecision on the subject of Ld. G. Germain is not creditable, and the more unpleasing to me, who wish ever to appear fair and open, but who could not speak but half words with Ld. George, as Ld. North has chosen to keep this affair above six weeks in the same state of indecision, which certainly has delayed the preparation for the next campaign. I shall only add that on one material point I shall ever coincide with Ld. G. Germain, that is, against a separation from America, and that I shall never lose an opportunity of declaring that no consideration shall ever make me in the smallest degree an instrument in a measure that I am confident would anihilate [sic] the rank in which this British empire stands among the European States,

[a] Lord G. Germaine's Secretary.

and would render my situation in this country below continuing an object to me.

Letter 705.

* St. James's, Feb. 4th, 1782.
35 min. pt. 3 p.m.

If Mr. Ellis should accept the American Seals it will rather surprize me. Ld. G. Germain has desired that any mark of favour I mean to grant him may precede his resignation, and that he may have three days' notice before the Seals are required from [him], which request I think very reasonable.

I am glad to find Saltash has concluded so well; it does not make the conduct of the Bullers less reprehensible.

Mr. Welbore Ellis accepted the American Seals—"a worn-out "veteran"—the "Manikin" and the "Grildrig" of Junius—a man "who was ridiculed for his diminutive stature, not in him redeemed "by any loftiness of mind." (Lord Mahon, vii. p. 133.) Opposition exclaimed loudly against Lord George's coronet and Ellis's seals. The first appointment was viewed as an insult—the second as a joke.

The old age of Welbore Ellis was, however, a green one. Lord Camden, in 1794, when his spirits were broken by bodily debility, met his old political antagonist, then Lord Mendip, in the Pump-room at Bath. "'I hope,' said the courtier to the patriot, 'you are "well, and in the enjoyment of a happy old age.' 'Happy!' said "Lord Camden, in a fit of temporary despondency, 'how can a man "be happy who has survived all his passions and all his enjoy-"ments?' 'Oh, my dear Lord,' was the reply, 'do not talk so; "while God is pleased to enable me to read my Homer in my "ordinary hours, and my Bible at my better times, I cannot but be "thankful and happy.'"—Lord Campbell's 'Lives of the Chancellors,' vol. vii. p. 48, 4th ed.

Letter 706.

Windsor, Feb. 5th, 1782.
3 min. pt. 9 a.m.

After so tedious a debate on Friday on the Ordnance Estimate, I expected, on the Report, it would be carried farther. I am glad to find that business was finished at a reasonable hour last night.

The Ordnance Estimates, the House being in a Committee of Supply, were opened by Mr. Kenrick on the 1st, and the motion for bringing up the Report of the Committee was discussed on the 4th of February (*Friday*). For receiving the Report the majority was 30 (122—92). ('Parl. Hist.' xxii. pp. 948–963.)

Letter 707.

* Windsor, Feb. 5th, 1782.
10 min. pt. 8 p.m.

So very proper conduct as that of Mr. Ellis I fear is only to be found in men of the last age. His request certainly is worthy of consideration. I hope his removing to the Secretary's office of the American Department will not occasion any trouble to Ld. North in the appointment of Treasurer of the Navy; but I think it right to premise that, if the Lord Advocate accepts it, I shall certainly not consent to his having his great Scotch office for life. I am clear that the trouble he has given this winter is not a reason for rendering him independent; and great as his desires seem to be, the best English House of Commons office, and one of two thousand pounds per annum in Scotland during pleasure, are no small recompenses, let his merits be ever so great.

If the office Lord Falmouth held is agreable to the Duke of Dorset, I will very willingly confer it on him.*

Lord North had best direct Mr. Ellis to ask an audience to-morrow, when he may declare his willingness to accept the Seals; and I will to-morrow see what day will best suit the inclination of Ld. G. Germain to resign, and know what title suits him best.

I shall see what applications are made for the Highland regt. before I fix on a successor to Ld. Seaforth, as I shall wish to take the man best qualified. Maclean, I should think, therefore, has but a slender chance, if merit is to decide.

The trouble given by the Lord-Advocate. In the debate on the Report of the Address "it was the Lord-Advocate, Henry Dundas, who on "that occasion caused most surprise. Affecting great frankness, he "might be said almost to adopt the language of the Opposition; he "seemed to accuse the Ministers of disunion, and to blame some "who in council did not deliver their sincere opinion. However, "with all this air of frankness, few could see what he meant, or "whom he blamed; and the more he was pressed, the more obscure "he grew. After such a speech, to retain in office this able and "eloquent, but now insubordinate placeman, was certainly a clear "sign of the weakness of the Government." Lord Mahon, vii. p. 129; who refers to 'Parl. Hist.' vol. xxii. p. 735, and to the extracts from Horace Walpole's MSS. given by Lord John Russell in his 'Memorials of Fox,' vol. i. p. 269.

"Sir Harry Dundas" is one of the imaginary contributors to the 'Rolliad.' His country is not forgotten in the ode ascribed to him, which is written in the Doric dialect of Britain, commencing "Hoot, hoot awa', hoot hoot awa'!—ye lawland bards, wha'

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* John Duke of Dorset, nephew of Lord George Germaine, was sworn of H.M.'s Privy Council on the 11th of February; and on the same day the Hon. Welbore Ellis was appointed Secretary of State.

"About this time died Lord Falmouth, at an advanced stage of life: "a nobleman, neither distinguished by "his talents nor his virtues; but whose "name, *Boscawen*, is connected with "naval recollections of the most gratifying kind." Wraxall, 'Hist. Memoirs,' vol. ii. p. 126.

" are ye a'?" neither in the lines of the political eclogue 'Margaret " Nicholson:'—

" Far from good things *Dundas* is sent to roam:
" Ah!—worse than banish'd—doom'd to live at home."

In August Dundas derived some comfort from stepping into the place vacated by Mr. Secretary Ellis—the Treasurership of the Navy.

LETTER 708.

Queen's House, Feb. 9th, 1782.
43 min. pt. 6 p.m.

I SHOULD not be very sincere if I did not confess that I fear the appointment of Lord Wm. Gordon to so dignified an office as Vice-Admiral of Scotland[a] will give well-grounded disgust to the Peerage of Scotland, he not being one of them, and certainly his private character not being much in his favour. If Ld. North can certify that the D. of Gordon will look on it in the same light as if given to him, that may a little palliate it. I cannot deem any application of Lady Irwin in his favour a title to a Scotch employment; but before anything is done it will be right for Ld. North to talk with Lords Hillsborough and Stormont; for if some attention is shewn to the House of Lords by proper communication before offices usually held in that House are filled up, I fear my service will not be benefitted [sic] by such inattention. The Ld.-Advocate, on the vacancy, wrote to Ld. Stormont to desire care might be taken, in framing the new patent, that the deputy may not be nominated in future by the V.-Admiral, as that officer decides not only Admiralty causes, but other matters of

[a] The post of Lord Vice-Admiral of Scotland was vacated by the death, Jan. 25, of the Earl of Breadalbane and Glenorchy. Lord William Gordon received the appointment after the resignation of the North Ministry.

moment. I have desired he will point out how this is to be done. This must, therefore, be notified to whoever gets the office that this change will be made. Ld. North must acquaint Mr. Ellis to attend on Monday for the Seals.

Letter 709.

* Queen's House, Feb. 11th, 1782.
53 min. pt. 9 a.m.

Lord North knows very well that I carefully avoid wishing to distress him for employments in favour of persons only attached to myself. It is from [this] view I have defferred [sic] ever pressing him in favour of my librarian, Mr. Barnard;[a] but I think an opportunity seems now to offer that will best suit my wishes in favour of him. An old Mr. Bowman is dead at Egham who has held above forty years a sinecure employment of either Comptroller or Collector of the Customs at Bristol. His death cannot possibly have reached as yet the ears of any other solicitor; therefore I trust this will answer my intention for Mr. Barnard, and be not inconvenient to Lord North.

Letter 710.

* Queen's House, Feb. 17th, 1782.
43 min. pt. 9 p.m.

If Lord North has as yet taken no step towards acquainting the Bishop of Oxford that he is thought of for the Deanery of St. Paul's, I have reason to think it would be highly agreable to the Lord Chancellor if the

[a] Afterwards Sir Francis Barnard. For a Letter of Johnson's to him, see Boswell's 'Life,' &c., p. 196, 1 vol. ed.

preferment was conferred on his brother, the Bishop of Lincoln. Indeed he expressed his wishes this day to me. But having previously spoken to Ld. North concerning the Bishop of Oxford, I could not give any positive answer till acquainted what steps had been taken. I am certain the Chancellor will constantly apply till his brother is provided for.

G. R.

The Bishop of Oxford was Dr. Butler. The Deanery of St. Paul's became vacant by the decease of Dr. Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol, on the 14th of February; he was succeeded in the Bishopric by Dr. Lewis Bagot, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and in his Deanery by Thomas Thurlow, "Bishop of Lincoln."

LETTER 711.

* Queen's House, Feb. 21st, 1782.
44 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am sorry to find so many persons could view the conduct of the navy in so very prejudiced a light as to swell the minority last night. I trust they cannot have lost the feelings of Englishmen so much as to support the motion of Gen. Conway on Friday.

I understand Dr. Demainbray died at Richmond at ten o'clock yesterday. He held the office of Surveyor of the East India Warehouse. This office would entirely answer my purpose for Mr. Barnard; I can rely on his intelligence, and that he would scrupulously attend the duty of his employment. Considering how very good-humouredly I gave up pressing for him on Monday, as Mr. Brydone seemed to be a personal wish of Ld. North's, I am certain he will on the present occasion eagerly forward my inclination.

" The Opposition, elated by the increasing strength of their cause, " and their approaching triumph, opened the Session of 1782 with a " motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the war; and that being " readily agreed to, Mr. Fox, after the production of the papers, " moved a vote of censure on Lord Sandwich, the head of the Board " of Admiralty. This motion, which, if carried, must have resulted " in the resignation of the Ministry, was negatived by a narrow " majority of twenty-two." (Massey, 'Hist. of England,' vol. ii. p. 412; comp. 'Ann. Register,' xxv. pp. 157–165.) The debate had commenced on the 7th of February. H. Walpole, writing to Rev. W. Mason, February 23rd, says: " Lord Sandwich escaped on " Wednesday last but by a plurality of *nineteen*."

Letter 712.

Queen's House, Feb. 25th, 1782.
15 min. pt. 9 a.m.

I did not in the least expect Ld. North yesterday, as it was very natural to conjecture that he must be detained at home in preparing for laying this day before the House of Commons the terms of the loan. Besides, though Ld. North is remarkably clear in stating matters of finance, yet the two small papers he has sent me are undoubtedly an easier method of having explained than any conversation. The bargain will undoubtedly to the nation do him great credit; and two sets of gentlemen having offered to raise the 13,500,000*l.*, equally men of substance, shews the wealth of the kingdom.

I certainly had no wish that Mr. Barnard should have more of the places of Dr. Demainbray than the best, which I take to be the surveyorship of the East India Warehouses; the two other offices therefore are undoubtedly out of the question.

Letter 713.

Windsor, Feb. 26th, 1782.
30 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I am glad to find the House of Commons voted yesterday, in the Committee of Ways and Means, the loan, which bargain has certainly been made on terms that do great credit to Ld. North. I have not the smallest doubt that he will use every exertion to obtain a good attendance to-morrow; and indeed I equally believe he did so on Friday last. Undoubtedly the House of Commons seem to be wild at present, and to be running on to ruin, that no man can answer for the event of any question. I certainly till drove to the wall [will] do what I can to save the empire, and, if I do not succeed, I will at least have the self-approbation of having done my duty, and of not letting myself be a tool in the destruction of the honour of the country.

On the 25th, according to his promise, and in spite of the taunts of Barré and Fox after the division on the 22nd of this month, Lord North made his financial statement, and explained the terms on which a new loan of 13,500,000*l.* had been contracted. Fox charged him with bringing the country to the verge of bankruptcy, with making a dishonest bargain, with reserving out of the public money pensions and bribes for contractors, placemen, and members of Parliament; charges which Lord North's answer to the King's letter of April 18, 1782, shows to have been tolerably well founded.

Letter 714.

* Queen's House, Feb. 28th, 1782.
20 min. pt. 11 a.m.

Lord North cannot be surprised at my being much hurt at the succession [sic] of Mr. Conway's motion, though in some degree prepared by what he said

yesterday. An answer must be given when the House of Commons bring it up. It is highly delicate to find any words not liable to the greatest objections. Ld. North will therefore certainly wish to have the opinion of all the Ministers on the wording of it; wherefore the Address cannot be received till to-morrow. I am mortified Ld. North thinks he cannot now remain in office. I hope I shall see him after the Drawing-room, that I may explain my mind to him.

"On the 22nd of February General Conway made a motion "against continuing the American war. This was negatived by "194 to 193. On the 27th he renewed the motion in the form of a "Resolution. The house divided—for the motion 234, against it 215. "It was then moved that the Address be presented by the whole "House, and on the 4th of March the Speaker reported the King's "answer." (Lord Brougham's note, p. 161.)

"There now stepped forward as the principal assailant of Lord "North a member far indeed below Fox in ability and eloquence, "but as greatly his superior in age, in experience, in disinterested "views. This was General Conway. Much as he had failed as a "leading minister some years before, it was not forgotten that "he had been the person to propose the repeal of the obnoxious "Stamp Act; and he enjoyed high respect on all sides as a gallant "soldier, as a highminded and accomplished gentleman." (Lord Mahon, vii. p. 136.)

Letter 715.

Queen's House, March 1st, 1782.
20 min. pt. 8 a.m.

By the intelligence Ld. North sent last night, I fear some disaster has befallen St. Christopher's. It will be right not to mention it, as it is as yet but vague.

A much worse piece of news than the *disaster* at St. Christopher's arrived three days afterwards—the surrender of Minorca to the French.

Letter 716.

* Queen's House, March 9th, 1782.
50 min. pt. 6 p.m.

Lord North may easily conceive that I am much hurt at the appearance of yesterday in the House of Commons, and at his opinion that it is totally impossible for the present Ministry to continue to conduct public business any longer. This leads so much, after the trials I have made of late, to my taking so decisive a step, that I certainly must maturely deliberate before I can return any answer.

"On the 8th of March Lord John Cavendish moved a detailed "censure upon the conduct of the war, and on the Ministers to "whose want of foresight and ability he ascribed what had happened. "This was rejected by 226 to 216. Pitt was one of the tellers for "the minority." (Lord Brougham, p. 162.)

"This debate," says Lord Mahon, vii. p. 138, "which turned in a "great measure on the expected change of Government, is mainly "remarkable for the declaration which it drew from Pitt. 'For "myself,' he said, 'I cannot expect to take any share in a new "Administration; and were my doing so more within my reach, "I never would accept a subordinate situation.' So lofty an "announcement from a stripling of twenty-three—from a young "lawyer just beginning to go the Western Circuit—might startle "by its boldness, but was justified by his genius." This "self-denying "ordinance" on the part of Pitt may have been prompted partly by the consciousness of his powers, and partly by his knowledge of the exclusiveness of the Whigs. The son of Chatham could hardly be considered a "novus homo." Yet what could he expect from men who made Burke Paymaster of the Forces?

"Pitt," says Sir Nathaniel Wraxall ('Hist. Memoirs,' vol. ii. p. 171), "was offered"—by the incoming Whigs—"the place of a "Lord of the Treasury. But he steadily rejected every solicitation, "preferring to remain, for the present, without office. Whether "this refusal originated in his consciousness of talents which, "from their pre-eminence, enabled him at once to seize a Cabinet "place, or whether it proceeded from that superior intelligence and

" discernment which, even at so early a period of youth, showed him " that a ministry imbued with such discordant principles and " odious to the sovereign could not possibly prove of long duration, " it may be difficult to determine with certainty. Probably, both " these sentiments concurred in regulating this judicious line of " action."

LETTER 717.

Windsor, March 12th, 1782.
55 min. pt. 7 a.m.

IT was very natural to expect that some of the taxes, from peculiar local interests, would meet with objection, for it seems scarcely possible to devise any new one not liable to it; consequently the opening of them seems to have been as favourable as could have been supposed.

Lord North proposed his taxes on the 11th of March: some of them were deemed inefficient; others proved so unpalatable that they were afterwards repealed.

LETTER 718.

* * Queen's House, March 17th, 1782.
2 min. pt. 8 a.m.

I AM sorry to find by Ld. North's note that the majority this morning did not exceed nine; it looks as if the House of Commons is going lengths that could not have been expected. I am resolved not to throw myself into the hands of Opposition at all events, and shall certainly, if things go as they seem to lead, know what my conscience as well as honour dictates as the only way left for me.

" The interval between the 8th and the 15th of March was generally " supposed to have been employed in various unsuccessful attempts

" to divide the party in Opposition. On the latter day a motion " was made by Sir John Rous, and seconded by the younger Lord " George Cavendish, in which, after reciting the facts contained " in the Resolutions on the 8th, it was proposed that, on con- " sideration thereof, the House could have no farther confidence " in the Ministers who had the direction of public affairs.

" On this occasion the whole strength of both parties was mus- " tered. Near four hundred and eighty members were said to have " been present in the House; and on the division the question was " negatived by a majority of only nine."—'Ann. Register,' xxv. p. 175; comp. Lord Mahon, vii. p. 139, and Sir S. Romilly's letter to Rev. J. Roget, vol. i. p. 154. " At last the protracted struggle was " brought to a final point, and a direct vote of want of confidence " was proposed. It was significant of the result that a country " gentleman, Sir John Rous, member for Suffolk, who had hitherto " been a steadfast supporter of the Government, consented to be the " mover of this decisive vote." (Massey, vol. ii. p. 414.)

Letter 719.

* Windsor, March 19th, 1782.
21 min. pt. 11 p.m.

Lord North,—After having yesterday in the most solemn manner assured you that my sentiments of honour will not permit me to send for any of the leaders of Opposition and personally treat with them, I could not but be hurt at your letter of last night. Every man must be the sole judge of his feelings; therefore whatever you or any man can say on that subject has no avail with me.

Till I have heard what the Chancellor has done from his own mouth, I shall not take any step; and if you resign before I have decided what I will do, you will certainly for ever forfeit my regard.

On the day after this letter was written the King seems to have been in a calmer or more hopeful mood. He acknowledged to Lord

North on the afternoon of the 20th that, considering the temper of the Commons, he thought the Administration at an end. "Then, "Sir," said Lord North, "had I not better state the fact at once?" "Well, you may do so," replied the King. Lord North lost no time in proclaiming to the House the hour of his deliverance. (Lord Mahon, vii. p. 141.) When Lord North went to take leave formally, the King said, "Remember, my Lord, that it is you who desert me, "not I you;"—a story, however, which rests only on the authority of Walpole; yet the words are very consonant with many expressions in the King's letters.

LETTER 720.

* Queen's House, March 22nd, 1782.
2 min. pt. 4 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—The enclosed paper was given me this day by Mr. Jenkinson. He wishes only to have a letter from you signifying my consent to a new patent when it may suit his convenience.

I cannot say anything upon that subject without at the same time communicating what I did not chuse to do this day in conversation. I mean an inclination of granting to you the same pecuniary reward that Sir Robert Walpole accepted. The applications of those who must on any new plan retire for provisions is without end, and, when œconomy is in every man's mouth, I must certainly not attend to them; but this for you, and a provision for Mr. Robinson, Secretary of the Treasury, equal to what Sir Grey Cooper holds by grant of the 4½ per cents., and by an office at Newcastle, which together make up 1000*l.* per annum, would be very just, and the pension to subsist till he can come into possession of some place in the Customs. If you will look out, I do not doubt such an office may be found.

"Lord North," says H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 536, "retired with a pension of 4000*l.* a year; and Robinson, Secretary "of the Treasury, and who, from Lord North's indolence, was a "principal agent in all business, had another of 1000*l.* Charles Fox, "it is true, inveighed bitterly in the House of Commons against the "former, and Sawbridge moved for a question on both. Robinson "pleaded poverty, and affected it by letting his house and selling "his coach-horses,* though, till questioned, he had displayed great "opulence, and had just given his daughter, with a large fortune, "to Lord Abergavenny's eldest son: but the motion was defeated "by the previous question. Lord North" (see ib. p. 597), "besides "the office of Prime Minister (and Chancellor of the Exchequer), "had received the Garter, the place of Warden of the Cinque Ports, "a patent place for his son, Bushy Park for his wife, a pension of "4000*l.* on his late resignation, and, some said, a grant of part of "the Savoy—though that has not been verified. His father was "Treasurer to the Queen, and his brother has the bishoprick of "Winchester."

Letter 721.

* Queen's House, March 25th, 1782.
20 min. pt. 10 a.m.

Lord North,—I have seen the Chancellor this morning to talk over what has as yet arisen, but I find things go on extremely slow, and that I have not much reason to expect my confidence will be gained by the high demands, if not beat down before, laid before me of the great party. He entered pretty fully with me on your subject, from an anxious zeal that your situation should be easy, and suggested that, instead of a pension, my granting the Cinque Ports to you for life, and making the sallary equal to the pension

* In 1761, Pitt, on his resignation, publicly announced his seven *coach-horses* for sale. This would seem to have been a ceremony of the time, similar to the mourning gown of a Roman noble in difficulties, or to the Eastern custom of rending garments and throwing dust on the head.

given to Sir Rbt. Walpole, was the most simple mode. If you are of the same opinion, I desire the proper instrument may instantly be prepared.

The Chancellor. "The King intrusted the office of making a new "arrangement" to Lord Thurlow, "to a man of abilities equal to the "Lord Advocate Dundas, to a man no better a politician, not so "rapacious of gain, though, as it afterwards appeared, in July 1783, "not so disinterested as he pretended, and whose surly moroseness "and disgusting manner were not adapted to conciliation and to "the suppleness and art requisite to negotiation." (H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 515. See Thurlow's report of his negotiations with the Opposition in 1779–80, supra.) When the Chancellor, on this occasion, opened his business to Lord Rockingham, the latter asked him if he came by authority. "No," said Thurlow, "but your Lordship may trust to me." The Marquis replied he could not listen to him unless he came by authority. (See 'Memoirs of Rockingham,' vol. ii. pp. 451–464.)

LETTER 722.

*Queen's House, March 26th, 1782.
40 min. pt. 10 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—Having declared to those who are to form an administration that no provisions would be made but for you and Mr. Robinson, to which I must add the assurance given to Sir Stanier Porter four years ago must also be added, [sic] I certainly cannot do any more. I never meant to say that 1000*l.* a-year ought to be the provision for a Secretary of the Treasury; but thinking Sir Grey Cooper had that, I was of opinion that Mr. Robinson, who has had all the labour, was entitled to .* Whichever office of Customs is fixed on for him, his pension should cease when he

* Word omitted.

comes to enjoy it. The reversion must be his own life and that of his son-in-law: the remaining in Parl[t] when such an event happens cannot be an object to him.

Lord North will write this morning to the Secretary of State's office that the warrant be prepared. [I have?] appointed Dr. Dampier Dean of Rochester, and Dr. Davies Canon of Windsor.

I must just add, all farther applications for offices, reversions, &c., must now cease.

LETTER 723.

Queen's House, March 27th, 1782.
43 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—It is impossible I can within three or four hours of your resigning be opening a door to fresh claims. I shall keep your letter as what may hereafter serve as a plea in favour of those persons, if ever I am in a better situation. The warrants now sent must be some days antedated.

Ld. Hillsborough always puts things off to the last minute, and, though an amiable man, the least a man of business I ever knew. If he can write a letter to Ireland concerning Ld. Rawdon,[a] and at least antedate a week, I shall not object; otherwise I do not see what I can do in it when there is a thorough rout.

[a] John Lord Rawdon (afterwards Earl of Moira, in Ireland) had done some service in the American war by defeating Gen. Green in an action before Camden, in S. Carolina; but, unable to maintain that position, he presently retreated to Charleston, 1781. He was taken prisoner by the French Admiral De Grasse. Lord Mahon, vii. p. 113.

Letter 724.

** Queen's House, March 27th, 1782.

Lord North,—At last the fatal day has come which the misfortunes of the times and the sudden change of sentiments of the House of Commons have drove me to of changing the Ministry, and a more general removal of other persons than I believe ever was known before. I have to the last fought for individuals, but the number I have saved, except my Bedchamber, is incredibly few. You would hardly believe that even the Duke of Montagu was strongly run at, but I declared that I would sooner let confusion follow than part with the governor of my sons and so unexceptionable a man: at last I have succeeded so that he and Ld. Ashburnham remain. The effusion of my sorrows has made me say more than I had intended, but I ever did and ever shall look on you as a friend, as well as a faithful servant. Pray acquaint the Cabinet that they must this day attend at St. James's to resign. I shall hope to be there if possible by one, and will receive them before the levee, as I think it would be awkward to have the new people presented at the levee prior to the resignations. Where is Robinson's warrant? G. R.

"The new Ministers had offered his Majesty to save any two "of his chief officers (of the Household) he would name. He not "only accepted so humiliating a boon, but had marked two of the "most insignificant of his servants as the victims to be spared—the "*Duke of Montagu* and Lord Ashburnham. For the first there was "a seeming pretext of decency as governor of his sons: the real "reason was that he was not only the spy on that son, but the only "man alive in whom the King had any confidence, or with whom "he talked freely about his son, though he was totally unfit to be "either governor to the son or counsellor to the father." (Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 527.)

Letter 725.

Queen's House, March 29th, 1782.

Lord North,—I can by no means think Mr. Robinson should have the fees paid out of his pension of 1000*l.* per annum; I therefore return it unsigned, that it may be altered; but it must be here before eleven this day, and antedated some days. You cannot conceive what a battle I have fought on your appointment, and what is done for Robinson cannot go further. All the warrants I have signed must be antedated.

Lord Weymouth's claim is clear as to his disbursements, but no further. The warrant must be here before eleven.

Letter 726.

Queen's House, April 18th, 1782.

The list of pensions paid by Sir Grey Cooper[a] requires no farther explanation, and I shall therefore draw out a list of it [sic] for the present head of the Treasury.

But I must express my astonishment at the quarterly account-books of the Secret Service being only made up to the 5th of Ap. 1780; consequently that two years are as yet not stated. I cannot help saying it is the most shameful piece of neglect I ever knew. No business can ever be admitted as an excuse for not doing that. If every sum received had instantly been set down, as well as every article paid, this could not have happened. The Duke of Grafton never let a month elapse after the

[a] Secretary of the Treasury.

quarter without getting the book finished and delivering it.

I shall make out also the list paid by Mr. Robinson to Peers, and shall give it to the First Ld. of the Treasury; but I cannot answer whether under the idea of influence there will not be a refusal to continue them. Those to members of the House of Commons cannot be given; they may apply, if they please, to Lord Rockingham; but by what he has said to me I have not the smallest doubt he will refuse to bring their applications, as well as those of any new solicitors, in that House. This is a natural consequence of the total change I have been driven to. I foretold the measures that would be expected, but Ld. North, as well as the rest who advised my treating with Opposition, would not credit my assertions.

Sir Jas. Cockburn's pension I will set down in the name of his wife, and Mr. Bowlby's in that of Lady Mary. As to Mr. Selwyn,[a] I do not see a possibility of its continuing. He must view it like the loss of a place, and must look to better days. His memorandum will be kept by me.

I must add that, Ld. North knowing for some weeks that the Ministry would be changed, it is strange he did not make up his accounts and bring the payments up to the time; for his successor will certainly not think himself obliged to pay up the arrears. I see some

[a] "George Selwyn lost a lucrative "appointment under the Board of "Works; and though possessed of "an affluent fortune, together with a "borough, yet, as he loved money, "no man who suffered in conse- "quence of the reduction of the Civil "List retained a deeper resentment "towards the party who had abridged "his enjoyments and diminished his "income. Selwyn, during the greater "part of his life was a member of the "House of Commons, and down to "the year 1780 constantly represented "Gloucester. His support of the Minis- "terial measures in the American war, "which by that time had become un- "popular, occasioned his being rejected "by his old constituents at the general "election in that year."—See Wraxall's 'Historical Memoirs,' vol. ii. p. 185-6.

have 3 quarters, some a year, and Ld. Northampton 10 quarters due.

As to the immence expense of the general election, it has quite surprised me; the sum is at least double of what was expended any other general election since I came to the throne, and by the fate of the last month proves most uselessly. Certainly the 13,000*l.* due to Mr. Drummond I shall by degrees pay off; but I cannot bind myself any further. I think it is most likely that, on the reduction of the expences of the Civil List, I shall be obliged to see my Privy Purse diminished the 12,000*l.* per annum [sic]. If that should happen, I have no means of satisfying the remainder you unexpectedly put to my account of 19,754*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* Had Ld. North thought it necessary, he ought during the arrangements to have had secret-service money to have defrayed that sum; now that is impossible. I cannot conclude without saying that I am sorry to see there has been such a strange waste of money. The letter I wrote the day Ld. North resigned must have shewed him that I should think myself bound to satisfy no farther save the 13,000*l.* to Mr. Drummond. G. R.

Draft or Copy of a Letter from Lord North to the King relative to his Accounts. [*In the handwriting of Lord North.*]

Lord N., with a heart full of the deepest affliction at having incurred his My's displeasure, humbly throws himself at his My's feet and implores his attention to a few words that he presumes to offer in explanation of the delay of the acc^{ts}:—

The S. S. list was always ready after every quarter, so that no part of the delay is imputable to him. Mr. R., whose list is of a nicer nature, never omitted entering every sum he paid the moment he paid it, so that every article of his acc^{t} is kept in perfect order, and

regularly check'd by his banker's book; but they were not extracted, compared, or copied fair for his Majesty at the proper periods, as Ld. N. wished they should be. Ld. N. pressed Mr. R. a hundred times over and over to make up his acc^{ts} at the proper periods; and among the many sources of uneasiness of Ld. N.'s mind for some years past this has been the greatest. It has embittered his life; but he is at the same time, in justice to Mr. R., oblig'd to say that he was every moment interrupted by the current business; and such a constant hurry and press of business as he had to undergo for these last three years was, as Ld. N. believes, never known. It has visibly impaired his health, and perhaps in some degree diminished his former quickness. All his acc^{ts} are regular and clear, and exact to the minutest circumstance—the day of the issue of every sum correctly marked. They are now all made up and sent to y^{r} G. Cr., who is hard at work preparing them for his M—y, and hopes to have finished the last by Tuesday or Wed^{y} next. Mr. R. will, if it is his M—y's pleasure, explain to his M—y every article of the acc^{t}, and state the reasons which have caused the delay.

As to the quarters of pensions in arrear, Mr. R. informs Ld. N. that he never paid any pension but upon the application of the pensioners, several of whom have not for some time applied for the money due. Ld. N. remembers that when he came to the Treasury several of the pensions were due for many quarters preceding. As to the election acc^{ts}, Ld. N. never received it [sic] till he sent it to his M—y on the 27th of March last. He had for some months past pressed Mr. R. to let him see it [sic], but Mr. R. was not able to give him a compleat state of it before. If Ld. N. had thought that the expence attending elections and re-elections in the years 1779, 1780, and 1781 would have amounted to 72,000*l.*, he certainly would not have advis'd his Majesty to have embark'd in any such expence. He begs, however, a few moments of his M—y's attention to state some circumstances which may in a degree account for the largeness of the sum in the election acc^{t}.

That acc^{t} contains, besides the expences attending the general election, the expence of the Hampshire contest in the year 1779, and of the elections of *Bristol*, *Coventry*, and *Gloucestershire*, together with about 2000*l.* for sundry smaller elections. The 2000*l.* sent to the Duke of Chandos and Sir R. Worsley in Hampshire bore, as Ld. North fears, a very small part of this expence. Mr. Chester, in the great contest for *Gloucestershire*, has, as it is said, spent from 20 to 30,000*l.*, but nevertheless left at his death from 3 to 4000*l.* unpaid. This debt was great prejudice to the friends of Governm^{t} in the contest which follow'd upon Mr. Chester's death; to assist in removing it 2000*l.* was paid.

The sitting members for Coventry had stood three contested elections, two trials before the Committee, and a long examination at the Bar of the House, in the course of a year and half before they made any application. They then rec'd 2000*l.*

The general elect[n] at Bristol cost but 1000*l.* to Governm[t]; but Mr. H. Lippingcot's death bringing on a fresh contest on the back of the former, the merchants of Bristol, who had contributed largely to the first contest, as well as to many loyal subscriptions, thought they might without impropriety apply for assistance. They rec[d] at different times 5000*l.* Ld. N. encloses an abstract of their expences, and of the assistance they received.

Expences in the account not incurred at the general election:—

	£
Hampshire	2000
Gloucestershire	2000
Coventry	2000
Bristol	5000
Sundry re-elections	2000
	£13,000

Ld. N. was very unwillingly drawn into the contest for Westminster, Surrey, and the City of London: but the necessity of strengthening the Government at that time, and weakening the Opposition, and the importance of a victory in those places with the fair prospect of success, prevailed upon him to advise the beginning, which drew on the subsequent expence.

The expence of the Westmin[r] amounted to more than 8000*l.*; Surrey, to 4000*l.*; the City, to 4000*l.*; the amount of all the three to more than 16,000*l.* These three contests were unhappily not successful, and therefore the expence is the greater grievance; but Ld. N. must, in justice to the Members who were assisted to come in to Parliament, say that they all behaved with very steady attachment to the end. Ld. N. will just add that he was disappointed of some contribution-money, as he had every reason to expect. Ld. N. does by no means intend by this state to propose to his M—y to add more [than] 13,000*l.* to the 4000*l.* already issued, which undoubtedly is a very large sum, but only to lay fully and fairly before his M—y the principal causes of the acc[t] of [which] his M—y complains. If Ld. N. remembers correctly, the last gen[l] election cost near 50,000*l.* to the Crown, beyond which expence there was a pension of 1000*l.* a-year to Ld. Montacute and 500*l.* a-year to Mr. Selwyn for their interest at Midhurst and Luggershall.

The elections in 1779 and 1780 and 1781 will cost 53,000*l.*; but then there has been no additional pensions promised; nay, Ld. Montagu's pension is struck off because two friends of Government, Mr. Sampson Gideon and Mr. Drummond, purchas'd with their own money, at Ld. N.'s recommendation, the two seats at Midhurst, so that, all things considered, this elect^{n} will not in the end have been so burthensome to his M—y as the last.

Ld. N. begs leave to submit to his M—y that at the time of the elect^{n} it was thought of the highest importance to secure a number of friends in the H. of Commons; the Opposition was eager, numerous, and powerful; that the times were distressing upon gentlemen, very few of whom were able to assist themselves so well as in former times; that in fact, till after the calamity of York Town, the Parliam^{t} appear'd very friendly to the last Administration; and that, as Ld. N. mention'd above, he was not able to stop the expenses in some cases, nor to know its [sic] extent, till very lately. Ld. N. states all these circumstances *only* in hopes of reinstating himself in some degree in his M—y's good opinion. He has no other wish or desire; he has endeavoured, through the course of his life, to promote his M—y's service to the best of his judgment; no one can better know his unfitness for the office he held than he did himself, and his M—y will do him the justice to own that from the very first he frequently and repeatedly represented his incapacity and sollicited for his dismission. The uneasiness of his mind, arising from the consciousness of his being inadequate to his situation, greatly impaired his faculties, and is now, he fears, undermining his constitution. He hopes his M—y will not embitter the remainder of his days by withdrawing from him that good opinion which he has long, and often by the sacrifice of his inclinations and private comfort, endeavoured to deserve.

Perhaps the best comment on Lord North's letter may be the following extracts:—

Mr. Hallam says of corruption at elections ('Const. Hist.,' vol. ii. p. 447, 2 vol. ed.): "The sale of seats in Parliament, like any other "transferable property, is never mentioned in any book that I "remember to have seen of an earlier date than 1760."—On this subject see Lord Mahon, iv. p. 220; Massey, 'Hist. of England,' vol. i. p. 98; Lord Macaulay, 'William Pitt,' 'Edinburgh Review,' January, 1834.

"Lord Rockingham was then Minister (1766), and Mr. Luther, "who had lately spent above twenty thousand pounds in esta- "blishing the *Whig* interest in Essex, undertook to ask for it"

(the Professorship of Chemistry in the University of Cambridge). 'Anecdotes of the Life of Bishop Watson,' vol. i. p. 49.

Mr. Darby, of whom the Bishop of Llandaff entertained a high opinion, thus wrote to his lordship, April 9, 1783 (ib. p. 179):—

"A true description of the present system" (the doctrine of the necessity of corruption to our welfare) "might, perhaps, be given "in the words of an old Briton, which, though immediately "applied to Roman tyranny, might, in a secondary sense, be con- "sidered as prophetic of a modern British House of Commons:— "'Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis "aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie "pascit.'—Galgacus, Taciti Agricola."

George the Third and Lord North were only fighting with the weapons of their opponents, according to the advice of Corœbus (Æneid, ii. 389):—

> "Mutemus clypeos Danaumque insignia nobis
> Aptemus; Dolus an Virtus, quis in hoste requirat?"

Such organised corruption will seem portentous in 1866!

Mr. Hallam (ib. p. 413) is of opinion that the practice of direct bribery—by the systematic distribution of money by the Crown to the representatives of the people—ceased about the termination of the American war; and Lord Chatham in 1766 predicted that corruption of boroughs "cannot continue a century." But "Bonus "Bernardus non vidit omnia."

Letter 727.

April 21st, 1782.

Lord North cannot be surprised that a mind truely tore to pieces should make me less attentive to my expressions. I certainly did and do still think the accounts ought to have been regularly given in; but I did not mean by that to express any intention of withdrawing my good opinion of him. He must recollect I foretold the consequences if a total change was made, and every hour only convinces me more of the truth of my assertions.

Letter 728.

Queen's House, May 5th, 1782.

The shortest and clearest method I can devise of closing the account of secret-service money with Ld. North is to allow him to state the 3983*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.* which he did not receive of the 20,000*l.* I gave him leave to take for the discharge of his debts, which is ballanced by his paying for an article that never was stated to me, and therefore for which I cannot stand indebted—the 3250*l.* to that worthless man Mr. Bate;[a] which sum, with the remaining money in Ld. North's hands, 712*l.* 14*s.* 4½*d.*, will give Ld. North a clear claim to a ballance in his favour of 20*l.* 5*s.* 6½*d.*, which I therefore enclose.

G. R.

On the 19th of March Lord North tendered his resignation. On the following morning he transacted business as usual at the Treasury.[b] He went thence to attend the King's levee, and then to the House of Commons, where a strong muster of Members had assembled to hear Lord Surrey bring forward his motion. Lord North was awaited. He came at length in his levee dress, and, after much delay and ferment in the House, announced that his Majesty had determined to change his Ministers.

The last hours of the North Administration have so often been detailed that I think it unnecessary to repeat the story. Earl Stanhope, Mr. Adolphus, and the 'Pictorial History of England,' and the memoirs and correspondence of the time, are easily accessible, and differ little from one another in their narrative of the fall of this Cabinet of twelve years. I have annexed some accounts of the

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[a] "Parson Bate," a scurrilous writer then on the staff of the 'Evening Post.' He in 1780 chose the Duke of Richmond for the special object of his abuse. "The Duke of Richmond obtained the "pardon of the infamous parson Bate, "who had been imprisoned for writing "a foul libel on his Grace."—H. Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 541.

[b] Lord Albemarle, 'Memoirs of Rockingham,' vol. ii. p. 462, says, "as if "he were anticipating a long tenure of "office." But this is, I think, very unlikely. We have seen how often and earnestly he had implored to be released from his arduous and unhappy position; and had more than once said publicly that "the game was up."

events of the 20th of March and the following days. An account of the negotiations and intrigues which ushered in the second Rockingham Ministry may be read in Wraxall's 'Historical Memoirs,' vol. ii. p. 148 foll., and H. Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii., February and March, 1782.

At the beginning of the year we have the following description of the Ministry by a young yet keen observer.

"Of the" [North] "Administration the principal characteristics "are want of system and irresolution; and the latter, indeed, is a "consequence of the former. Having little confined views, they seem "never, from the first, to have formed any comprehensive plan; and "this original defect has increased with ill-success. Perplexed and "confounded with the mazes and dangers into which they have "run, like children they rather turn away from what affrights them "than endeavour to prevent it. They ward off the present evil that "presses on them, but leave the morrow to provide for itself: they "may truly be said, according to the Latin phrase, *in diem vivere.* "Their plan of operations (for system they had none) changes with "every new occurrence; with every various accident every various "passion takes its turn to rule them: regarding only the immediate "object before them, they magnify its importance: they are now "confident of success, now plunged into despair. The idol they "erected yesterday is cast down to-day, and perhaps enshrined "again to-morrow. In prosperity they are proud, contemptuous, "and overbearing; in adversity supple, mean, and abject. At the "commencement of the disputes with America they treated the re-"fractory colonists as a despicable gang of ruffians; but the moment "a league with France was formed they prostrated themselves at the "feet of those rebels they had spurned, and offered them much more "than ever had been demanded.[a] The panic was soon dissipated "by a gleam of success; the Ministers resumed confidence, and "one of them was imprudent enough to hint, even in the House "of Commons, that unconditional submission was alone to be "listened to. Nay, only last winter, flushed with the successes "of Lord Cornwallis, they were already in imagination masters of "all the Southern provinces; and masters so absolute, that they "thought it time to send out again Lord Dunmore to chastise, not "to govern, Virginia." (Sir Samuel Romilly to Rev. John Roget, Jan. 11, 1782.)

"Lord North has had two places, which he held only during

[a] I do not understand this assertion: it probably refers to some momentary panic in the Cabinet, of which there is no trace in the King's letters.

" pleasure, settled on him for life; so that you may judge he is not " very much chagrined at being displaced. He attends regularly " in the House of Commons as a private Member of Parliament. " In private company the other day he said that the Opposition, who " had always complained of his publishing lying Gazettes, were no " sooner in office than they set off with a Gazette more full of lies " than any of his had been, for it contained a string of paragraphs, " each beginning " His Majesty has been *pleased* to appoint," &c., when " it is certain that the King was not pleased at any one of these " appointments. It would amuse you to see how most of the " pensioned newspapers have changed their style; they now pay " assiduous court with compliments and panegyrics to the men " whom a few weeks ago they constantly persecuted with libels and " lampoons. We hear of nothing but the public savings they are " to make, of the peace we are to have with America, and of the " peace with Holland." (Sir Samuel Romilly to Rev. John Roget, April 12, 1782; compare Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 346, for Lord North's poverty on quitting the Treasury.)

Dr. Johnson said to Mr. Seward, " I am glad the Ministry is " removed. Such a bunch of imbecility never disgraced a country. " If they sent a messenger into the City to take up a printer, the " messenger was taken up instead of the printer and committed " by the sitting alderman. If they sent one army to the relief of " another, the first army was defeated and taken before the other " arrived. I will not say that what they did was always wrong, " but it was always done at a wrong time."

The entry in his Journal is significant: "March 20th. The " Ministry is dissolved: I prayed with Francis and gave thanks."[a]

This unfavourable, indeed harsh opinion of the great moralist was balanced, so far as Lord North is concerned, by an opposite verdict from the great historian of the last century:—

" Were I ambitious," writes Gibbon,[b] " of any other patron than " the public, I would inscribe this work to a statesman who, in a " long, stormy, and at length an unfortunate Administration, had " many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy; who " has retained in his fall from power many faithful and disinterested " friends; and who under the pressure of severe infirmity enjoys " the lively vigour of his mind and the felicity of his incompar- " able temper. Lord North will permit me to express the feelings

[a] Boswell, 'Life of Johnson,' p. 705, one volume ed. Johnson, indeed, regarded Lord North as " no friend to " him." Ib. p. 227.

[b] Preface to the fourth volume of the original quarto edition of the 'Decline and Fall.'

"of friendship in the language of truth; but even truth and "friendship should be silent if he still dispensed the favours of the "Crown."

"Such," says Mr. Cook, 'Hist. of Party,' vol. iii. p. 275, "was "the catastrophe of the North Administration: a Government "which, although professing as their creed the strong tenets of "Toryism, were as weak and vacillating in their constitution "as they were severe in their resolves. North and his compeers "had formed no design against the liberties of their country; "they had not even the ability and decision to work out with "ordinary success the policy of their party. They were not men "who, like the Cabal, would have sold their country to France; "nor did they wish to set up the bayonet as the instrument of "Government in England. Yet, with probably the most honest "intentions, they had certainly reduced their country to the lowest "condition of distress and helplessness. Whether this result is "to be attributed to their acting upon Tory principles, or to their "not pursuing their principles with sufficient energy, every reader "will determine according to his preconceived party sentiments. "The fact is clear that, after twenty years of Tory dominion, that "party restored the British Empire to the Whigs dismembered, "impoverished, and all but undone."

The Cabinet which succeeded Lord North's was thus composed:[a]—

The Marquis of Rockingham,* First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord John Cavendish,* Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Admiral, now Viscount Keppel, First Lord of the Admiralty.
The Duke of Grafton,* Lord Privy Seal.
Earl Camden, President of the Council.
The Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance.
The Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, joint Secretaries of State.
General Conway,* Commander-in-Chief.
Mr. Dunning, created Lord Ashburton, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Thurlow, Lord Chancellor.

Other less important departments were thus filled up:—

The Duke of Portland,* Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.
Mr. Burke,[b] Paymaster-General of the Forces and a Privy-Councillor.

[a] The names marked with an asterisk (*) are those of members of the former Rockingham Administration, 1765-6.

[b] For the reasons for not including Burke in the Cabinet, see Sir James Prior's 'Life' of him, p. 215, 5th ed.

Mr. Thomas Townshend* (afterwards Viscount Sydney), Secretary-at-War.
Colonel Barré, Treasurer of the Navy.
Mr. Sheridan, Under-Secretary of State.
Sir William Howe, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.
Viscount Howe,* appointed to command the Grand Fleet.
The Hon. Thomas Pelham, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance.
The Duke of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain.
The Earl of Effingham, Treasurer of the Household.
Mr. Kenyon, Attorney-General; and Mr. John Lee, Solicitor-General.

Sir Fletcher Norton, late Speaker of the House of Commons, soon afterwards was raised to the Peerage with the title of Lord Grantley.

On the 27th of March was formed Lord Rockingham's second Administration. The House of Commons met on the 8th of April for the transaction of business. Wraxall* gives the following description of the Whigs on the Treasury benches:—

"The Treasury bench, as well as the places behind it, had been "for so many years occupied by Lord North and his friends, that it "became difficult to recognise them in their new seats dispersed "over the Opposition benches, wrapped in great-coats, or habited "in frocks and boots. Mr. Ellis himself, no longer Secretary "of State, appeared for the first time in his life in an undress. "To contemplate the Ministers, their successors, emerged from "their obscure lodgings or from Brooks's, having thrown off their "buff and blue uniforms, now ornamented with the appendages of "full dress, or returning from Court decorated with swords, lace, "and hair-powder, excited still more astonishment. Even some "degree of ridicule attached to this extraordinary and sudden

1854. Burke's own account of the exclusion is given by Earl Stanhope, Hist. vii. p. 145:—"You have been misinformed. I make no part of the Ministerial arrangement. Something in the official line may possibly be thought fit for my measure." Two causes may have been at work in this disposition of place. (1.) The Whig jealousy of "novi homines." (2.) The sentiments of the Chatham-Whig, Lord Shelburne, towards the Rockingham party. He was "malevolent to them in all aspects." Sir James Prior, ib. p. 216, says, "The pride of the Whig aristocracy had scarcely begun to *thaw* during the most active part of Burke's career; and he was therefore, perhaps, constrained to give way to the more potent influence of birth and family-influence."

* 'Historical Memoirs,' vol. ii. p. 172, 2nd ed. In the caricatures of the day the King was exhibited as a prisoner to the Whigs. One entitled 'The Captive Prince, or Liberty run Mad,' represents him as surrounded by the Duke of Richmond, Lords Shelburne and Keppel, and Fox, who are putting fetters on his feet and ankles: and the Duke says, "I command the Ordnance;" Keppel, "I command the Fleet;" and Fox, "I command the Mob."

" metamorphosis. It happened that, just at the time when the " change of Administration took place, Lord Nugent's house, having " been broken open, was robbed of a variety of articles, among others " of a number of pairs of laced ruffles. Coming down to the House " of Commons immediately after the recess, a gentleman who acci- " dentally sat next to him asked his Lordship if he had yet made " any discovery of the articles recently lost? 'I can't say that " I have,' answered his Lordship; 'but I shrewdly suspect that " I have seen some of my laced ruffles on the hands of the gentlemen " who now occupy the Treasury bench.' This reply, the effect of " which was infinitely increased by the presence of Fox and Burke " in their Court-dresses, obtained general circulation, and occasioned " no little laughter."

LETTER 729.

*Bushy Park, Nov. 4th, 1782.

LORD NORTH has the honour of informing his Majesty that, since he wrote to his Majesty from Derbyshire, he has endeavoured to learn the dispositions of the gentlemen who formerly gave him their assistance in the House of Commons, and finds that, in general, they are well inclined to concur in such measures as shall be necessary for the support of his Majesty's Government in the present critical situation of the country. He finds them likewise, in general, very averse to any innovations in the Constitution.

Lord North believes that there will be a considerable appearance of Members at the opening of the Session, but he thinks it probable that, as the meeting is fixed on a day so near to Christmas, some country gentlemen will not choose to come to town till after the holydays.*

* I suppose this letter to refer to some attempt to rally again the Country party. There is no letter of the King's in the Royal Library at Windsor, leading or referring to any negotiation with that party or Lord North at this time.

Letter 730.

Queen's House, March 23rd, 1783.
35 min. pt.10 p.m.

The D. of Portland having uniformly declined drawing up the plan of arrangement, and continuing to do so after my having this day at St. James acquainted him that I could not longer delay coming to some resolution if he did not send such a plan for my consideration this evening, I therefore take this method of acquainting him that I shall not give him any farther trouble.

Lord North must therefore see that all negociation is at an end.

"March 23. The Duke of Portland was again with the King, "and carried a list of the intended Cabinet; but the King would "not look at it, demanding to see the whole list, which the Duke "would not produce, but continued to press the Cabinet list upon "him, saying, 'I implore your Majesty to look at it;' but the King "held his hands behind him and would not take it." I believe it was the next day that the Duke wrote to the King; and, to palliate the refusal of the whole list, assured him they did not intend to remove anybody about his person or in the Household. On the 23rd the King wrote both to the Duke and Lord North a few words to declare "that all negotiation with them was at an end," and he sent again for Mr. Pitt. (H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. (March). Compare 'Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox,' vol. ii. p. 52.

Letter 731.

Queen's House, April 2nd, 1783.
8 min. pt. [?] a.m.

The principal object of my sending last night for Ld. North was to acquaint him that the seven persons named by the Duke of Portland and Ld. North for

several offices might be at St. James's to kiss hands this day by half-hour past one.

I suppose the seven persons named to have been:—
Right Hon. Charles Townshend, Treasurer of the Navy;
Right Hon. David Viscount Stormont, President of the Council;
Right Hon. Frederick Earl of Carlisle, Privy Seal;
Right Hon. Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer;
And three of the Commissioners of the Treasury.

LETTER 732.

Queen's House, April 5th, 1783.
30 min. pt. 8 a.m.

THE warrant for the new Admiralty Commission came as directed at ten last night, when I signed it, with the names only of Ld. Keppel and Adm. Pigott, the others left blank, so that, when Ld. North has finally settled the names with the Duke of Portland, they may be inserted and the commissions prepared. I certainly do not mean to object to any part of the arrangements of places, and cannot have any either to Mr. Geo. Brudenell or Mr. Sloane for a seat at that Board.

The Commissioners for the Admiralty, besides "Keppel and Pigot," were—

Right Hon. William Ponsonby;
Lord Viscount Duncannon;
Hon. John Townshend;
Sir John Lindsay, K.B.;
William Jolliffe, Esq.;
Whitshed Keene, Esq.

See 'Ann. Register,' xxvi. p. 130.

Letter 733.

Queen's House, April 7th, 1783.
55 min. pt. 7 a.m.

The letter Lord Sydney has communicated to Ld. North from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland very clearly decides that the E. of Ely[a] cannot have the ensigns of the Order of St. Patrick till his health enables him to go for investiture to Ireland.

The D. of Portland intimated, in the D. of Manchester's[b] name, on Friday, that it would occasion some inconvenience in the payments now making in the Chamberlain's office if he should be removed previous to the completion of them. But I should imagine, as the money has been issued from the Treasury for that purpose to Mr. Herbert, that, provided he is not removed till he has compleated that business, that no objection can arise from Lord Hertford's obtaining that office on Wednesday. I desire, therefore, Ld. North will settle this with the D. of Portland, and then write the usual letter of dismission to the D. of Manchester, and acquaint him to attend for that purpose after the levee on Wednesday.

G. R.

Letter 734.

* Windsor, April 8th, 1783.
20 min. pt. 8 p.m.

I return the box with the original letters and copy from the Nabob of Arcot, and also the original one to the Queen. The copy I have delivered to her.

[a] Henry Loftus, Earl of Ely, died abroad in the month following, without having been invested.

[b] Lord Chamberlain, succeeded by the Earl of Hertford.

In December the Queen received the diamond ring Sir Thomas Rumbold[a] had been entrusted with, and had secreted till Col. Crosbie, who came in the autumn from Madrass, obliged him to deliver it; since what time the Queen has wrote to the Nabob to acknowledge the receipt of it.

The application of the Surrey and Middlesex magistrates may be a reason to spare the life of Broadstreet, but his accomplice must suffer death when the time of the respite expires.

I trust Ld. North has settled that the D. of Manchester[b] is to deliver up his key and staff to-morrow, and Ld. Hertford attend to receive them. The D. of Rutland means to deliver up his staff on Friday, when Ld. Dartmouth should attend to receive it.

LETTER 735.

Queen's House, April 12th, 1783.
57 min. pt. 7 a.m.

LORD NORTH will send the proper notice to the War Office, that the old corps may be directed to recruit to the peace establishment—viz., officers included, 507 each battalion, at the usual peace allowance of 3½ guineas per man, and will direct the advertisement and pardon to be printed in the Gazette of this night, agreable to the request that has been made for that purpose.

[a] If Wraxall, 'Hist. Memoirs,' vol. ii. p. 254, be correct in stating that "*Rumbold* had brought with him from "the East, as Verres did from Sicily, "very ample resources, &c.," his concealment of the ring was the less excusable, especially since it was a "*diamond* ring." See Lord Macaulay's article on 'Warren Hastings,' 'Edinburgh Review,' Oct. 1841; 'Rolliad,' Eclogue 'The Lyars:' and comp. H. Walpole to Rev. W. Mason, March 30, 1781.

[b] The Duke of Manchester was appointed Lord Chamberlain in April, 1782; he now went as Ambassador Extraordinary to Paris. The Earl of Dartmouth replaced the Duke of Rutland as Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household.

Letter 736.

Queen's House, April 12th, 1783.
40 min. pt. 3 p.m.

The report of Mr. Justice Heath in favour of Thos. Mitchell certainly makes a free pardon very proper; and makes it not improper to respite Josiah Cannon, who may have further indulgence, if Mr. Coxe, who interests himself for him, can engage to place him in an honest way of life.

Letter 737.

Queen's House, April 17th, 1783.
10 min. pt. 7 p.m.

As soon as any part of the garrison of Gibraltar is relieved, Lieut.-Gen. Boyd may have leave to come home for the recovery of his health.

Letter 738.

Queen's House, April 18th, 1783.
25 min. pt. 9 p.m.

Undoubtedly the blank in the warrants for recalling the three Regency instruments ought to be filled up with Lord North's name. Lord North cannot doubt that, if the office in the Irish Court of Common Pleas is in favour of Mr. Scott, the late Attorney-General, I shall by no means object to any attention shewn him, provided it meets with the approbation of the present Lord-Lieutenant;[a] if not, it should not be put into execution till a new one is named.

Lord North has done very properly in sending to the

[a] Earl Temple, succeeded, May 3, by Robert Henley, Earl of Northington.

Lord Mayor and to the Surrey justices on account of the expectation of some tumult among the sailors. I trust he will give similar information to Sir Sampson Wright and Mr. Addington, as also to the Tower Hamlets; for if they find the City and Wapping prepared, they may remove to Westminster and the outskirts of the town. The notice to Gen. Conway and the Secretary-at-War is very proper.

"April 18. About 2000 seamen assembled on Tower-hill, and "proceeded in a detached body to the Admiralty to insist on an "explicit answer from the Board when their arrears of wages and "prize-money should be cleared off. No proper answer being given, "they proceeded to St. James's Palace to harangue the King on the "occasion; but the leading avenues in the Palace being either "guarded or shut, prevented the tumult that might have ensued, "and they peaceably dispersed." ('Ann. Register,' xxvi. p. 203. Comp. Walpole's 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 608.) General Conway was Commander-in-Chief, and Col. the Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick Secretary-at-War.

LETTER 739.

Windsor, April 21st, 1783.
23 min. pt. 6 p.m.

I HAVE received the two instruments Ld. North had received from Lord Stormont and Mr. Cornwallis; the other cannot be returned till Lord Thurlow returns from Misley. The Seals of the late Archbishop of Canterbury[a] seem to have come very properly through the channel of Lord North, though on the former occasion through that of the Lord Chamberlain.

By what I heard yesterday, I should hope the seamen will continue quiet, particularly if the merchants are, as

[a] The Hon. Frederick Cornwallis.

formerly, obliged again to have two-thirds of the crews on board their ships natives.

LETTER 740.

* Queen's House, April 30th, 1783.
1 p.m.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury may do homage after the levee this day.

"During this interministerium died Dr. Cornwallis, Archbishop "of Canterbury. The King, lest his future Ministers should inter- "cept his choice, immediately offered it to his most favoured of the "Bench, Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, lately preceptor to the "Prince." (H. Walpole, 'Last Journals,' vol. ii. p. 607.) Hurd declined it, "as a charge not suited to his temper and talents." (Kilvert's 'Life of Hurd,' p. 140.) The Archbishopric was conferred on Dr. Moore, Bishop of Bangor; at the "recommendation of "Dr. Hurd," says his biographer; "of the Duke of Marlborough, "whose tutor Moore had been," says H. Walpole.

LETTER 741.

* Windsor, May 14th, 1783.
42 min. pt. 6 a.m.

LORD NORTH cannot pretend that his letter, renewing the application of the two ladies that were robbed by Edward Woolton, contains any new matter. The increase of highway robberies has been very great, even during the war, and now will naturally increase from the number of idle persons that the peace will occasion. Therefore I cannot think myself justified, on such an application, to prevent the law from taking its course. I am happy that there is no real ground for my interposing, as there is scarcely time for its having taken effect.

G. R.

LETTER 742.

Queen's House, May 16th, 1783.
35 min. pt. 5 p.m.

THERE seems to be great propriety in ordering Lt.-G. Burgoyne[a] to come immediately from Ireland, that he may assist in making the plan for the troops in Ireland correspond with that necessary for this kingdom and its colonies. G. R.

LETTER 743.

Windsor, June 14th, 1783.
50 min. pt. 7 a.m.

LORD NORTH has my authority to direct the Treasury to send the ten thousand pounds to Scotland, which was understood to be the purport of the Address of the House of Commons in favour of that part of the kingdom.

LETTER 744.

Windsor, June 16th, 1783.[a]
52 min. pt. 8 p.m.

LORD NORTH,—I am sorry the Earl of Hardwicke[b] has so solid a plea for the indulgence of driving through the Park, which I certainly will grant, as desired by him, for leave to pass through, except at the Horse Guards. I am sorry so respectable a nobleman is not likely to last long. G. R.

[a] Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland since May 4, 1782.

[b] Three weeks before H. Walpole writes to the Countess of Ossory, April 25th, "I have just heard that Lord "Hardwicke is dead: it is probable. "Soame Jenyns said last night he was "very ill and kept his bed."

Letter 745.

Windsor, July 1st, 1783.
46 min. pt. 6 p.m.

The recommendation made by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, of Ld. Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Tottenham Loftus, to be nominated of the Irish Privy Council, is so very pressing, that Lord North has judged very properly in accompanying his letter with warrantsfor that purpose for my consideration. I have signed them; therefore they may be sent immediately to Ireland.

G. R.

Letter 746.

* Windsor, July 12th, 1783.
46 min. pt. 9 a.m.

Undoubtedly the Americans cannot expect, nor ever will receive, any favour from me; but the permitting them to obtain men unworthy to remain in this island I shall certainly consent to.

Ld. North has acted very properly in the case of Mr. Heneage Legge.

Ld. Burgoyne's plan for saving the 17th and 18th regts. of Dragoons meets with approbation.

Letter 747.

* Windsor, July 18th, 1783.
13 min. pt. 11 p.m.

The presents requested by the Emperor of Morocco seem so reasonable, that Lord North ought to order them. As Moore's offer of conveying the convicts to Nova Scotia, if they are not admitted in the rebel pro-

vinces, is so much more moderate than the proposal of Hamilton, it ought to be accepted.

The usual answer ought to be made to the militia recommendations of Ld. Poulett and Ld. Bulkeley.

LETTER 748.

Windsor, July 24th, 1783.
8 min. pt. 9 p.m.

UNDOUBTEDLY there is less regularity in the modes of conducting business in this kingdom than in any other European, or the mode of calling a new Parliament[a] in Ireland ought to have been so clearly stated in the change of that constitution that no room ought to have been left for doubts as to the proper method of effecting it. But I fear folly, not reason, dictated the measure, and therefore it is not surprizing every step has not been well weighed.

By Ld. North's account Dr. Townson seems to answer the idea of a proper person to fill the chair of Divinity Professor.

The Council for receiving the Recorder's Report must be postponed to Wednesday.

LETTER 749.

Windsor, Aug. 6th, 1783.
3 min. pt. 8 a.m.

LORD NORTH,—The Queen, finding herself not quite well, has desired me to stay with her; and Dr. Ford having told me that probably it will prove a labour, you will give notice to the other Ministers that I shall not

[a] The Irish Parliament was dissolved on the 25th of July, and the new Parliament summoned for the 6th of September.

come to town till Friday. As soon as the Queen is delivered, you shall certainly receive an account from me, who till then cannot be but in a state of great anxiety.

"Her Majesty was safely delivered of a Princess—Amelia—at her "lodge at Windsor," on the following day. ('Ann. Register,' xxvi. p. 225.

Letter 750.

Windsor, Aug. 7th. 1783.
min. pt. a.m. [sic].

Undoubtedly the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is the proper person to represent me at the baptism of the Marquiss of Kildare.

The usual approbation to be given to the Lord-Lieutenant's recommendation of Mr. Stanley for Colonel of the Lancashire Regt. of Militia. G. R.

Letter 751.

* Windsor, Oct. 24th, 1783.
25 min. pt. 8 p.m.

By every enquiry I have made of Ld. Amherst he denied Government being in the smallest degree concerned in the transaction of the East India Company with Col. Erskine. I therefore certainly look on the granting half-pay as a wanton expenditure of public money, and think the officers ought to be at least treated as the Corsican ones were who served at Minorca: but if Ministry wish to grant Erskine's corps what certainly they have not deserved, I agree with Ld. North the Corsican officers must have as good

terms. I therefore hope Ld. North will consult the Treasury before he takes any step agreable to General Conway's letter.

G. R.

LETTER 752.

Windsor, Nov. 16th, 1783.
47 min. pt. 7 p.m.

LORD SYDNEY having prevented the Directors of the East India Company the last year transmitting to India the resolutions of the Court of Proprietors respecting Mr. Hastings, and the business being in the same situation now, Lord North seems warranted in giving a similar prohibition.

Mr. Justice Buller may have liberty to ride through the Park.

LETTER 753.

* Windsor, Nov. 29th, 1783.
1 min. pt. 7 a.m.

THE appointment of Mr. Yelverton to be Chief Baron, and Mr. Kelly and Mr. Fitzgibbon to be Privy Counsellors in Ireland, may be prepared agreable to the Lord-Lieutenant's recommendations. I am glad to hear Mr. Scott is proposed to be Prime Sergeant.* He certainly was a very faithful servant of the Crown when Attorney-General; now Ireland is in fact disunited from this kingdom, whether he can be of the use he was previous

* Mr. John Scott was appointed Prime Sergeant on the 11th of December following, and Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1784. He was created Lord Earlsfort, afterwards Viscount and Earl of Clonmel, in that year. Mr. Barry Yelverton, afterwards Viscount Avonmore, on the 29th of November became Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and on the same day the Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon Attorney-General. Thomas Kelly was Prime Sergeant July 13, 1782, and in 1784 a Justice of the Common Pleas (Ireland).

to the sad measures that have been adopted, I am totally ignorant. Lord Antrim should have the answer that his request will be at proper time considered of, but accompanied with the declaration that it is a favour that will be very rarely granted, that other suitors may not be brought forward.

The Recorder may make his report on Wednesday.

G. R.

LETTER 754.

Windsor, Dec. 9th, 1783.
55 min. pt. 7 a.m.

I ENTIRELY coincide in the opinion given by Mr. Pelham[a] that the Address of the Volunteers should, if possible, not be received; but as Mr. Flood may, without saying anything, present it at the levee, it ought to be considered whether in that case it should be by the Lord of the Bedchamber returned to him. The case is new, and therefore ought to be thought on.

In some of the immediately preceding letters allusion is made to the affairs of Ireland, and in the preceding one the King writes, "Now Ireland is in fact disunited from this kingdom." His Majesty refers to the measures of the Rockingham Ministry in favour of that country.

It has been already shown that Ireland was very nearly affected by the war in America. Its exports of cattle and provisions and its linen manufacture were ruined by the prohibition of the North Ministry to trade with the insurgent colonies. Distress produced discontent, and discontent produced the organisation of the *Volunteers*.

The particular measures on which the Rockingham Whigs agreed before their second accession to power were:—first, an offer of unconditional independence to America as the basis of a negotiation for peace; secondly, the establishment of economy by means of

[a] Surveyor-General of the Ordnance.

Mr. Burke's Bill; and thirdly, the annihilation of influence over either branch of the legislature.

But before these measures could be brought forward the Ministers were compelled by imperious circumstances to bring forward a fourth, for "securing the freedom of Ireland in the most unequivocal and "decisive manner."[a] Ireland in fact in 1782, and for several years before, was little less disaffected to England than the American colonies were in 1774. County and other popular meetings were held on the models afforded by the Associated Counties on this side of the Channel in 1779–80; addresses were voted, and instructions given to Members, for asserting the independence of the Irish legislature, extinguishing the powers reserved to the Privy Council under Poyning's law, procuring a Habeas-Corpus Act, establishing the independence of judges, abolishing sinecure places, inquiring into the expenditure of public money, securing the freedom of trade, and revising the Act for equalising duties. For these reformatory measures, which were as unpalatable to the King as America's demand for untaxed tea and independence, the arguments were much strengthened by the fact that within a short period no less than five statutes had passed the English Parliament in which Ireland had been expressly mentioned.

For the Volunteer associations I must refer to works that specially treat of them.[b] They composed a formidable army at a moment when England had not a soldier to spare from its levies against Europe and America, and their instruction in drill and discipline was promoted by invalids or exchanged prisoners, natives of Ireland, from the seat of war in New England and Virginia. The Volunteers of Dublin elected the Duke of Leinster, long the leader of Opposition in the Irish House of Lords, for their commander. Of the Leinster Volunteers Lord Charlemont was general. Four provincial armies were organised, and, at a time when there were only five thousand regular troops in the island, there were one hundred thousand Volunteers, formed into regiments and brigades, furnished with cannon and field equipages, serving without pay, electing and sometimes cashiering their officers, and dressed in rather motley fashion in uniforms, or more properly in regimentals, provided by the wearers or by subscription.

The new Ministry during the Easter recess of 1782, having English reforms in abundance on their hands, were desirous of

[a] See the speeches of the Duke of Richmond and General Conway on the 9th and 10th of July, 1782.

[b] Plowden's 'Hist. of Ireland,' vol. i. pp. 487, 517, 563; Sir Jonah Barrington's 'Historic Memoirs,' vol. i. pp. 47, 111, 153–159; Grattan's 'Memoirs of Grattan,' vol. i. pp. 180, 226.

postponing for a few weeks the consideration of the Irish question; and the Marquis of Rockingham and Mr. Fox wrote to Lord Charlemont to suggest the expediency of adjourning the House of Commons in Ireland for a fortnight or three weeks. But Mr. Grattan, in reply to this suggestion, said, "No time, no time: "he and his friends could not delay; they were pledged to the "people; they could not postpone the question, for the measures "were public property."[a]

On the meeting of the British Parliament on the 8th of April, 1782, Colonel Luttrell introduced the question, and required from Mr. Eden, late Secretary for Ireland, under the Lord-Lieutenancy of the Earl of Carlisle, a statement of the condition of that kingdom. Mr. Eden took a wide survey of the Volunteers, whom he highly applauded; and as to the Declaration of Rights, assured his hearers that they might as well attempt to force the Thames to flow up Highgate Hill as to deny or dally with the demand of an incensed and united people. He concluded his speech by moving for leave to bring in a Bill "repealing so much of the Act of the 6th of George I. "as asserted a right in the King and Parliament of Great Britain "to make laws binding the kingdom and people of Ireland." Mr. Eden's motion, on the ground of indecent hurry in bringing forward so important a measure, was withdrawn at the instigation of Mr. Fox. He stigmatised the measure proposed as a petty and partial repeal, aiming at petty popularity. He pleaded not altogether the "novitas regni" of the Whig Cabinet, but laid the blame of the crisis, not perhaps less reasonably, and certainly plausibly, upon the inertness of the late Ministry.

At length, after much debate in the Parliament at Westminster, and strong demonstrations in the Parliament at Dublin, Mr. Fox, in a Committee of the whole House on the 17th of May, 1782, moved "for an Act repealing that of the sixth of George I. made for "securing the dependence of Ireland." There was no division on the Irish question in either Lower or Upper House; and on the 11th and 14th of June the repealing Act was passed without debate. The Irish Parliament expressed its satisfaction, voted an Address of Thanks, and gave a substantial proof of its gratitude by voting also a hundred thousand pounds for a levy of twenty thousand seamen for the British navy. But the Irish people were not content. With a hundred thousand men in arms, or ripe and ready for action, they said, or they felt, with Civilis, the Batavian *Grattan*, "nunquam "magis afflictam rem Romanam, inania legionum nomina"—only five thousand strong—"ne pavescerent: esse sibi robur peditum

[a] 'Memoirs of Grattan,' vol. i. pp. 215–220.

"equitumque, consanguineos Germanos, *Gallias* idem cupientes."[a] France had not forgiven Pitt's trophies.

"Ireland at this time," observes Earl Stanhope,[b] "needed, beyond "all question, for its Lord-Lieutenant, a great statesman. The "new Whig Administration sent thither only a great Duke. They "selected his Grace of Portland, not for ability, not for activity, not "for eloquence, for of all these he was utterly destitute; but for his "rank and wealth, as the head of one of their principal Revolution "families."[c] Indeed, Ireland upon the whole had more cause for content with the North Ministry than with the Whig opposition to it. Burke alone stood conspicuously forward as the supporter of proposals for relieving his native country from her grievances, and, by his honesty, he alienated from him the electors of Bristol.

The concessions made by the Rockingham Administration neither contented Ireland nor inspired her with confidence in Great Britain. The elections in the year at which the King "refers to the calling "a new Parliament" (see Letter 748) proved clearly that the Irish understood that they had wrenched what they claimed from the English Parliament, and neither then nor in the following year did they lay down their arms or abate in their demands. The events, however, of 1784, do not come within the period of George the Third's correspondence with Lord North.

[a] Tacitus' Hist., iv. 14. For the greater part of this comment on Irish affairs I am indebted to Mr. Adolphus, 'Hist. of England,' vol. iii. pp. 350-361, and Mr. Adolphus is indebted to the 'Annual Register.'

[b] Lord Mahon, 'Hist. of England,' vii. p. 157. His Lordship's account of the Irish question is at once clear and impartial.

[c] Yet, with all his "wealth," and without a visible expense of 200*l.* a-year, since he lived secluded from mankind behind the ramparts of Burlington wall, his Grace was overwhelmed by debt. See Walpole to Rev. W. Mason, July 10, 1782.

THE reader of the preceding Notes on the Letters of George the Third may perhaps justly complain of my having too often forgotten the golden rule that an editor should regard himself as simply the servant of his author. I am therefore adding, it may be thought, one more to my transgressions by the following final remarks. The King's Letters, from the beginning to the close of the North Administration, exhibit their writer under the least favourable aspect of his career. He was unfortunate not only in aspiring to direct his Ministers, but also in having Ministers who submitted to his direction. He was unfortunate also in having the landed interest of this country generally on his side during the American war; since it was the support of this powerful party, whose selfish interests coincided with the royal prejudices, that encouraged and enabled him to persist in that unnatural struggle. He was again unfortunate in the condition and conduct of the Whig party when it returned to office in 1782. The second Rockingham Administration will bear no comparison with the first. Nearly all the good they effected was done by Burke and his economical reforms; while the good which might have been expected from them, after so many years of denunciation, protest and profession, was rendered abortive by the death of the good Marquis on the 1st of July in the same year. Thenceforward, owing to the dissensions between the Shelburne section and the Rockingham section of the Cabinet, the Whig camp, like that of the Greeks before Troy, presented the unedifying spectacle of "so many hollow factions" from the time when the Earl of Shelburne became First Minister to the fall of the Coalition Ministry. But

"Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda, e passa."

From this "Olympiad of confusion" the King and the nation were rescued by the younger Pitt. The great Whig historian of our day

pronounces "the eight years that followed the elections of 1784" to have been "as tranquil and prosperous as any eight years in the "whole history of England."[a]

The King regained courage and confidence, but he no longer interfered with the policy of his advisers. He profited by the dismal experience of twelve years—1770–82. He turned his attention to more congenial and less hazardous pursuits than politics: he learned, however tardily, the worth of the maxim, "unum est inexpugnabile "munimentum regis amor civium:"[b] he won and he retained honour and love from his people.

In his correspondence with Lord North we have met with continual proofs of the King's esteem for his faithful but too compliant Minister. Perhaps the parting from him was even more bitter to his Majesty than the recall of the Whigs to his council-table. But this good understanding did not long survive the "fatal day" of March, 1782. There is a coolness in his letters to Lord North as merely Secretary of State affording a strong contrast to the occasional warmth of his language to Lord North as First Lord of the Treasury. Their friendship ceased with the Coalition Ministry. The King thenceforward described his once-loved and trusted servant as "a "man composed entirely of negative qualities;" as "one who, for "the sake of securing present ease, would risk any difficulties which "might threaten the future."[c] He spoke of him as "that grateful "Lord North!" Neither, if Lord Sydney has correctly represented the ex-minister's conduct in 1789, did Lord North retain his former feelings to his perhaps exacting but certainly affectionate Sovereign.

The fairer side of George the Third's public character lies beyond the limits of the foregoing Correspondence. I refer my readers to the best record of it I have met with—Earl Stanhope's 'Life of William Pitt.' The King, under the guidance of a firm

[a] Lord Macaulay, Biographies contributed to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica'—'William Pitt.'

[b] Seneca, 'de Clementia,' l. 19, § 5.

[c] See 'Buckingham Papers,' vol. i. pp. 189-192, and 'Cornwallis Correspond.,' vol. i. 407, for the later relations between George the Third and Lord North.

and wise Minister, earned the reputation which he has since held, and realised many of the conditions prescribed by Montesquieu for his idea of a monarch: "Les mœurs du prince contribuent autant "à la liberté que les lois. . . . Qu'il se rende populaire. . " . . Il doit être flatté de l'amour du moindre de ses sujets: " ce sont toujours des hommes."*

* 'De l'Esprit des Lois,' liv. xii. chapitre xxvii.

THE END.

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